Volume 19, No. 10
October 1991

R5685-4

FOCUS

The Democrats' Identity Crisis

As the '92 Presidential Campaign Nears,
the Democrats Struggle to Find a New Message and Messenger

Diversity and American Competitiveness

If the U.S. Is to Retain Its Position as the World's Economic Leader,
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Crown Heights: Dreadlocks and Yarmulkes

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ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Sixth National Policy Institute to Convene

Black political leaders have issued a call for a national conference of black elected officials to be held in Washington, D.C., next January—in advance of the presidential primaries. This Sixth National Policy Institute will be a nonpartisan educational forum for documenting major public policy issues of concern to black Americans.

The Institute will be convened by the Congressional Black Caucus, the six other national caucuses of black officials, and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, which serves as Institute convener. The other sponsors are: the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Judicial Council, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Association of Black School Board Members.

The Institute will help to establish policy priorities to be debated in the 1992 presidential race. It also will provide a unique opportunity for black elected officials from different political jurisdictions to meet and exchange views on subjects of mutual interest.

This forum was launched in 1967 when Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the noted social psychologist, convened key black political leaders in Washington, D.C. They were convened again in 1969 in Chicago. The 1969 meeting documented the need for a regular national assembly of black elected officials, and also issued a national call for the creation of the Joint Center, which opened its doors in 1970.

The Joint Center convened the third national conference of black elected officials in 1978 and the fourth in 1984. The national caucuses of black officials and the Joint Center agreed in 1984 to cosponsor a national Institute every four years, to coincide with the presidential elections.

Following a tradition dating back to 1967, the Joint Center and the seven national organizations of black elected officials have developed the Sixth National Policy Institute as a forum that will be nonpartisan, national in scope, and comprehensive in its reach to all levels of governance. More important, it will combine the fruits of solid research with the practical realities of the political world to illuminate public debates on critical policy issues.

The 1992 meeting will be held at the Washington Hilton and Towers Hotel. We expect over 800 officials to participate in a comprehensive two-and-a-half-day program of workshops and forums on topics such as education, health care, the drug crisis, and minority business development.

The coming Institute takes on particular importance when one looks at the generally hollow political debates that up to now have purported to address substantive national problems. Scant attention has been paid by the Bush administration to marshalling the national will and providing the resources necessary to address the many domestic problems facing blacks and other Americans.

Nevertheless, somebody has to carry the moral compass. Black elected officials have a special heritage, grounded in doing what's right on behalf of those who have been locked out of the promises of American society. Fannie Lou Hamer, Harold Washington, and Mickey Leland didn't stop to put fingers to the wind whenever tough decisions had to be made. They didn't bend and shape their consciences to fit the political fashions of the day. They brought to bear the full power of their humanity, moral suasion, and belief in the rightness of their cause despite often overwhelming evidence that the odds were stacked heavily against them.

That's why we at the Joint Center strongly encourage black elected and appointed officials—as well as civic, fraternal, sororal, business, and labor leaders—to join us in Washington, D.C., for the Sixth National Policy Institute. Let our numbers send the clear message that we are unified and resolute in our commitment to public policies based on humane values. ■

PRESIDENT

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The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPES, Inc.

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The Democrats' Identity Crisis

As the '92 Presidential Campaign Nears, the Democrats Struggle to Find a New Message and Messenger

by Michael K. Frisby

As the Democrats prepare for another presidential campaign, the once proud party of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy again finds itself portrayed as the embattled underdog, struggling to patch up its splintered coalitions. The party has not found a potent campaign theme or crowned a new messenger who can challenge President George Bush. And once again, the Democrats, as if under an evil spell, have watched as opportunities have slipped away.

The fall of 1990 had been a moment in the sun for the Democrats as they held a lock on the powerful economic theme of tax fairness. The White House and congressional leaders had just negotiated a budget agreement that left the Republicans on the wrong side of the political divide. President Bush was forced to violate his campaign oath and agree to raise taxes, but he refused a Democratic push for a surtax on the rich. There was rumbling from middle-class voters across the nation who felt the Republicans had tightened the squeeze on their pocketbooks.

The Republicans were worried—after all, economic issues had propelled the Democratic party in its glory years, bridging divisions of race, class, and religion to forge a coalition that sought a redistribution of wealth. Bush was said to be vulnerable. In 1990 the Democrats were poised to return to the side of the middle-class, much of which had deserted the party in the 1980s.

Then it all vanished. The military success in the Persian Gulf War seized center stage, overshadowing all other issues. Bush was feted as a conqueror, restoring national pride, while strong Democratic opposition to the use of force reinforced the party's image of being weak on defense. And more recently, Bush has tightened his grip on national media attention with Secretary of State James Baker's shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East and by unveiling his surprise initiative to eliminate all short-range nuclear weapons. By many accounts, the Democrats have shrunk as a force in national elections over the last decade. They lost five of the last six presidential campaigns, three to electoral landslides and they will be the decided underdogs again in 1992. This is surely a bleak picture. But is it accurate?

Democrats Reign in Congress

Leading Democrats concede the obvious—they have lost their fastball in presidential politics as well as their footing on economic turf, which they once dominated. But party leaders emphasize that Democrats still dominate at all other levels of government, from county courthouses to state legislatures to Congress. "If you look at a party that has more elected officials at every level of government than any other party, that had a growing number of officials at every level, except the presidency, from 1980 to 1989—that is a strong party," argues Mark Steitz, Democratic National Committee (DNC) director of research.

Some figures support his claim. In the 1980s, the Republicans spent $1.2 billion in campaign dollars, but saw their party's representation drop—among U.S. senators from 53 to 43, among congressmen from 191 to 166, and among governors from 23 to 20. Their control of state legislatures dropped from 35 states to 23. Some counter that the Democrats are in trouble despite gains in Congress and statehouses because the presidency has so grown in stature and importance that the public seems to use it as the single gauge in assessing the two parties.

"In some ways, it is an example of how we shorthand everything into the presidency and how much we care about it and how much it symbolizes governing and politics," says Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution. "Everybody is shaking their heads at the Democrats even though they control more state houses, city halls and congressional seats. We're not saying, 'the poor Republicans'." Milton Morris, vice president for research at the Joint Center, says that "while the Democratic party is functioning well at the local and grassroots levels, the national party remains in substantial disarray and in search of both leadership and a messenger, and I don't see it particularly close to finding either of those."

Blacks at Arms Length

Over the past decade, the Republicans managed to hold together a disparate coalition while the diverse Democratic constituencies have fragmented that party. As the Republicans have struck with one "wedge issue" after another—crime, "Willie Horton," quotas—the FDR coalition of unions, blacks, liberals and poor southern whites has splintered. As the Democrats tried to appease those groups during the 1980s, the Republicans successfully portrayed them as a party pandering to "special interests," speaking to a few Americans but not all.

"We have a problem, like Bush, with the vision thing," says Michael McCurry, a Washington-based Democratic strategist. "Until we really flush out what we believe as a

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Mr. Frisby covers politics and Congress for The Boston Globe.

Democrats

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party, we have the remnants of the FDR coalition and they are all deeply fearful of each other—you see it every day, blacks are fearful of Jews and vice-versa; unions are fearful of yuppie executives..."

In the last four years, the biggest strategic question was whether the party should openly court its black supporters. Michael Dukakis, the 1988 presidential nominee, did little to reach out to the black community. And a growing number of moderate and conservative Democrats argue that embracing blacks chases more whites from the party.

Harvey Gantt, the black Democratic Senate candidate who nearly upset Republican Jesse Helms in North Carolina last year, says, "If Democrats don't embrace a message saying they are an inclusive party, then they are going to be in trouble. To me it's a 'bury your head in the sand' strategy that simply says we will not appeal to the best interests of all Americans by talking about equality, opportunity and affirmative action."

Ronald Walters, chair of the political science department at Howard University, says the Democrats' taking the black vote for granted has caused a downward swing in black turnout in both 1984 and 1988 that has further jeopardized the party's chances of winning the presidency.

Tearing Left and Right

With the ideological splits growing deeper and poor showings in both the 1980 and 1984 presidential campaigns, the mid-1980s gave birth to a splinter group of Democrats who believed that the national party was cruising in the wrong direction. In 1985, a group of mainly white male Southern and Western elected officials formed the moderate-to-conservative Democratic Leadership Council (DLC).

More recently, the liberal Coalition for Democratic Values has emerged in part as a reaction to the DLC. While labor and women's groups and other elements of the Democratic coalition have continued to work with the traditional party hierarchy, the Democratic National Committee (DNC), these two splinter groups have organized outside of its structure. The DLC seeks to move the party to the right to conform to what it perceives as the ideological shift of the nation.

Initially, the DLC viewed the party as dominated by Northern liberals, and it often clashed with the DNC. But some of the DLC's attempts to be a political force have backfired. Hoping to give a white moderate or conservative Democrat a boost in the 1988 presidential primaries, the DLC pushed for Super Tuesday—holding many Southern primaries on one day—only to have the party's most liberal contender, Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, emerge as the region's big winner.

By contrast, the Coalition espouses liberal solutions to domestic problems. It advocates cutting the defense budget by 50 percent and allocating the revenues to human resources—health care, education, and job training. Heather Booth, the group's executive director, calls on her party to "make a resurgence for working people." But in its infant stage, the Coalition has not yet gained the impact of the DLC.

Alvin From, the DLC executive director, dismisses the notion that the DLC has divided the party. "The divisions in this party are longstanding and real; they've existed since 1972," says From. We lost 49 states in 1972; 44 states in 1980 and 49 states in 1984—before we had a DLC—which indicates the splits have been there."

Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution agrees, suggesting that the Democratic party is so diverse that there have always been divisions, but that great leaders pulled them together. "Franklin Roosevelt could hold these people together and they were just as unholy an alliance; there wasn't much love lost between blacks and conservative whites. So skilled leadership can do a lot." But Hess maintains that it is difficult to display that leadership unless the Democrats occupy the White House and the forum it represents. And he says that such leadership cannot be effectively exerted by members of Congress, although some advocate a more aggressive stand by these legislators.

In Search of a Messenger

The cure for the party, say political analysts, is finding a strong messenger, someone with stature who can bring the public together in support of economic growth and tax fairness. There is polling evidence indicating that if the Democrats can find a presidential candidate who is respected enough to grab the public's attention, Bush may be vulnerable despite his effort to keep the nation focused on foreign affairs and nuclear disarmament rather than domestic concerns.

Several polls taken in August and September show that the public considers the economy and other domestic issues—such as education, health care, and the environment—to be more than twice as important as foreign policy, where Bush's reputation is strongest. According to a *Wall Street Journal*-NBC News poll, by a 42 to 21 percent margin the public has greater confidence in the Democrats' ability to handle domestic issues, and by a closer margin (28 to 25 percent) the Democrats are seen as being better at handling the economy.

Alvin From and others believe that a host of new initiatives pursued at the local level by Democrats can prove to the country that the party has a platform worth supporting—if they can get a forum to present their ideas. He advocates this new style of politics that, he says, seeks to advance ideas which appeal to a broad number of Americans, rather than following the old path of delivering different messages to different segments of the coalition. For example, he believes that economically deprived blacks and whites would embrace an industrial apprentice program that would train young people entering the work force, benefitting new workers from both races and diminishing racial competition.

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October 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- A Labor Department report provides new proof that discrimination bars women and minorities from top management positions in U.S.corporations.
- Four U.S. senators who relied on black voters in the '86 campaign are up for reelection next year.
- Across the Nation: Rep. William Clay helps his son in state legislative race, Betty Barnette becomes Albany's treasurer, Pattie Harrison is appointed judge in North Carolina, and Sylvester Turner will run for mayor of Houston.

Glass Ceiling in Corporate America

Contrary to what has been the Reagan-Bush dogma over the last decade, Labor Secretary **LYNN MARTIN** has discovered that discrimination can be directed at groups as well as individuals. According to its "Report on the Glass Ceiling Initiative," released in August, the Labor Department has determined that there are "artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified minorities and women from advancing into mid- and senior-level management positions." The Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) enforces Executive Order 11246, which requires firms receiving federal contracts to provide equal opportunity in employment through affirmative action. Companies found not to be complying with the Executive Order can be barred from any future contracts; however, this sanction has rarely been used. While officials of both the Reagan and Bush administrations have long argued that job bias only occurs against individuals, one-by-one, the "Glass Ceiling" now joins a long list of studies which show that minorities and women, as groups, are also victims of institutionalized employment discrimination.

Launched in 1990 under the leadership of then-Secretary **ELIZABETH DOLE**, the Labor Department study was undertaken to determine whether a glass ceiling existed and, if so, what could be done about it. The final report is based on discussions with representatives from business, labor, women's, and civil rights groups as well as the Department's independent evaluations of nine unnamed Fortune 500 companies that do business with the federal government. These companies represent a range of industries and have from 8,000 to 300,000 employees.

Secretary Martin argues that the project was especially necessary in light of the changing demographics of the work force. Population trends indicate that by the year 2000, women, minorities, and immigrants will represent about 85 percent of those entering the labor market in the United States. At an August press conference announcing the findings, Martin said, "If our end game is to compete successfully in today's global market, then we have to unleash the full potential of the American work force. The time has come to tear down, to dismantle, to remove and to shatter the 'glass ceiling'." The following are highlights of the Glass Ceiling report:

- Each of the nine companies reviewed had a level beyond which minorities and women had never advanced. This ceiling exists at a much lower management level than was generally expected, and minorities plateau at lower levels of the work force than women.
- Companies often stereotype individuals, locking them in positions that are not in line for further advancement; minorities and women tend to be locked into human resources, public relations, research and administration and kept out of sales and production, areas considered to be the fast track to the executive suite.
- Emphasis on company seniority has worked against women and minorities. Corporations usually promote from within, considering employees who have 20- plus years of company experience for senior management. Most corporations only began hiring women and minorities in professional positions within the past 20 years.
- Personnel directors and equal employment opportunity officers are usually not involved in recruitment for management positions at the senior level.
- Executive recruitment practices—like employee referral, use of search firms, and word-of-mouth networking—

are not monitored to ensure that a diverse pool of applicants is considered.

- Senior managers usually identify key employees for management positions well in advance of their promotions. They then monitor their careers and give them special access to developmental and credential-enhancing opportunities that may speed their progress up the executive ladder, (such as appointment to special projects, job rotations, foreign assignments, training programs, and advanced education opportunities). Access to such opportunities are seldom afforded to women and minorities.

In order to act on the report's findings, the Labor Department will promote a diverse work force by giving public recognition to companies with effective and creative programs for assuring equal opportunity. It will also continue compliance reviews of corporate federal contractors.

Deep South Senate Races in '92

In 1986, four Southern Democrats won election to the U.S. Senate largely thanks to black voters in their states: North Carolina's **TERRY SANFORD**, Georgia's **WYCHE FOWLER**, Louisiana's **JOHN BREAUX**, and Alabama's **RICHARD SHELBY**. Each received at least 80 percent of the black vote, edging out his opponent by less than six percentage points. Once elected, each voted against the confirmation of **ROBERT BORK** for the U.S. Supreme Court, and each voted in favor of the Civil Rights Act of 1990. However, other legislative actions to support black interests have varied among them. All four are up for reelection in '92 and all are expected to be returned to Washington by the voters, though Fowler and Sanford may face tight races.

TERRY SANFORD (North Carolina). Except for his vote against the Persian Gulf War, North Carolina's junior senator did not ignite any controversy during his freshman term. **HAROLD WEBB**, Raleigh coordinator of **HARVEY GANTT**'s campaign for the senate last year, says Sanford's strong ties to the black community date back to his term as governor (1961 to 1965). **WILLIAM CHAFE**, a historian at Duke University, says Sanford was the first governor in the state (and the South) to "willingly endorse the principles of the civil rights movement."

In 1986, Sanford, who is also a former state representative and former president of Duke University, had to face four primary candidates to win his party's nomination. In the general election he defeated Republican former congressman **JAMES T. BROYHILL** by four percent of the vote to succeed Republican **JOHN EAST** (who had announced his retirement but committed suicide before his term was up). In next year's election, state Democratic officials say Sanford will be the party's uncontested nominee. However, his age (74) and minimal fundraising (he reportedly had raised less than $100,000 as of August) have sparked speculation that he might not seek reelection. Most of the state's pundits scoff at that suggestion; but should Sanford opt not to seek reelection, former Charlotte mayor and 1990 senate candidate Harvey Gantt has been mentioned as a possible Democratic contender. Gantt, who is black, lost by only six percentage points in a hotly contested Senate race last year against ultra-conservative Republican **JESSE HELMS**. If Sanford were to step aside, many political observers in the state believe Gantt could pull off a victory.

Sanford's announced Republican opponents are former state commerce secretary (and former Democrat) **McLAUCHLIN "LAUCH" FAIRCLOTH** and Charlotte mayor **SUE MYRICK**. Faircloth is backed by Helms' political organization, the National Congressional Club, and by the state's Republican governor **JAMES G. MARTIN**. Myrick, who defeated Gantt in his reelection bid in 1987, is a former city council member now serving her second term as mayor of the state's largest city. Other possible GOP contenders are former congressmen **BILL COBEY** and **WALTER EUGENE JOHNSTON**, who each served one term in Congress during the 1980s.

WYCHE FOWLER (Georgia). Georgia Republicans are eager to regain the seat they lost in 1986 when Fowler beat Senator **MACK MATTINGLY** by just two percent of the vote. A moderate Democrat who as a congressman had represented Georgia's majority-black 5th District, which encompasses Atlanta, for 10 years, Fowler was at first considered too liberal to represent the state in '86. He had to fight off three primary competitors for his party's nod. This time around, Fowler seems to be clear of same-party opposition, but Republicans are lining up to challenge him. The only announced candidate is former U.S. Attorney **ROBERT BARR**, a newcomer to electoral politics not well known beyond north Georgia. Mattingly is rumored to be considering a comeback, but local insiders, who say he had little impact as a senator, count his chances as slim. Former state senator **PAUL COVERDELL**, who recently resigned as director of the Peace Corps, is pondering a bid and is expected to be Fowler's toughest foe because of his extensive political experience. A Bush appointee to the Peace Corps in 1989, he had represented an affluent white suburban Atlanta district in the state senate for 20 years, 15 of them as minority leader. Coverdell has also chaired the state party and the Southern steering committee of President Bush's 1988 campaign.

Fowler, 51, will be tough to beat. He made his presence felt among Georgia voters during his first term, traveling to the state several times each month. The black community is Fowler's strongest base. He has convened a hearing at Spelman College on the needs of historically black institutions; introduced legislation to increase funding for the Martin Luther King, Jr., Historic Site in Atlanta; and sponsored the Minority Farmers' Rights Act to help preserve minority-owned farms and provide them with technical assistance. He has also worked to increase federal research funding for the state's traditionally black institutions of higher education.According to **ALAN WEST** of the Georgia Farm Bureau, Fowler has won over the state's powerful agricultural community. He sits on the Senate Agriculture Committee and kept a high profile during the 1990 reauthorization of the Farm Bill, working with the other members of the state's congressional delegation to maintain peanut price supports—very important to the state that grows 50 percent of the nation's peanuts.

Fowler's fundraising abilities and his rise as a force in the Senate will also prove to be assets at election time. He has amassed a one-million-dollar war chest and has landed several plum Senate assignments, including assistant deputy whip for the Southern region and assistant floor leader. In addition, he sits on the Democratic Steering Committee, which makes Senate committee assignments.

JOHN BREAUX (Louisiana). Louisiana's Breaux and Alabama's Shelby are expected to win reelection more easily than their colleagues in North Carolina and Georgia. Breaux, a 48-year-old attorney, served seven terms in the U.S. House of Representatives prior to his Senate victory. In 1986, he defeated Republican congressman W. **HENSON MOORE** by six percent to succeed retiring Democratic senator **RUSSELL B. LONG**, son of the state's legendary political boss **HUEY LONG**. The state GOP inadvertently contributed to Breaux's 1986 Senate victory when its efforts to purge voter rolls in black precincts became public. The backlash from that episode gave Breaux the overwhelming support of black voters. At present, he has no announced opposition for the October 19, 1992, open primary and there is a good chance he will remain unopposed.

During his days in the House of Representatives he voted with the "Boll Weevils," a coalition of conservative Southern Democrats who supported Reaganomics. He currently chairs the conservative Democratic Leadership Council, a group that has been slow to embrace initiatives advocated by black political leaders. Nevertheless, Breaux voted in 1988 for the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which overturned a Supreme Court ruling that limited the reach of four civil rights laws. He also supported increased funding for historically black colleges and voted for the Hate Crimes Statistics Bill.

Local observers expect his reelection to come easily. Breaux has been skillful at balancing the environmental and industrial concerns of the state, which has, on the one hand, a large fishing and game industry and an active conservationist lobby and, on the other, a powerful oil industry. He sits on the Finance and the Commerce, and Science and Transportation committees. In 1989, his party elected him to a term as chair of one of its fundraising arms, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

RICHARD SHELBY (Alabama). A former state senator and four-term member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Democrat Shelby defeated Republican incumbent **JEREMIAH DENTON** in 1986 by fewer than 7,000 votes. Alabama's junior senator was also a Boll Weevil while in the House, tending to vote with the Republicans—pro-business, pro-defense, and conservative on economic and social issues. In 1987 he was rated second only to Alabama's senior senator **HOWELL HEFLIN** among all senate Democrats who voted in support of President Reagan's initiatives. Despite his 1982 vote in the U.S. House against extension of the Voting Rights Act and his opposition to the Martin Luther King Holiday, Shelby garnered 88 percent of the black vote in 1986. When compared to the ultra-conservative Denton, he was considered the lesser of two evils.

According to black state senator **MICHAEL FIGURES**, a Democrat from Mobile, Shelby is still regarded with suspicion by the black community. "He has no track record of taking interest in black issues; no one is excited about his performance," says Figures. This view is echoed by another black Democratic state senator, HANK SANDERS, who represents part of Shelby's former Congressional district in Selma. Says Sanders, "He voted against African Americans as a congressman on economic and civil rights issues and he has done the same on international issues, concerning policies relating to Angola and South Africa."

Although some black voters are unhappy with Shelby's record, their choices for '92 are limited. With an estimated $1.8 million in his campaign coffers, Shelby is the most financially secure of the four senators and he is not expected to face any Democratic opposition. Only one Republican contender, Montgomery business consultant **RICHARD SELLERS**, has plans to challenge him. Sellers, who has never held elective office, is virtually unknown outside Montgomery. At this point, no other Republican challengers have surfaced and Shelby is expected to return to Washington without a scratch.

Across the Nation

MISSOURI: On September 3 **WILLIAM CLAY, JR.,** 35-year-old son of veteran St. Louis Democratic congressman **WILLIAM CLAY, SR.**, was elected to fill the unexpired term of black state senator **JOHN BASS** who represented the 4th Senatorial District. The 4th district encompasses Northeast St. Louis. Bass stepped down in June after 10 years in the state legislature to accept a congressional staff position in Washington. He was appointed staff director of the House Administration Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, which Congressman Clay chairs. Some political observers see Clay's offer of the post to Bass as a maneuver to open the state senate seat for Clay Jr., who they believe is being groomed to succeed his father in Congress. Congressman Clay, 60, has served 22 years in the House of Representatives.

The younger Clay defeated white Republican **GRETCHEN L. LIFF** by more than 2,000 votes to gain the senate seat. Before this recent victory, he had served in the state house of representatives for eight years, where he chaired the Joint Committee for Public Employee Retirement and the Black Legislative Caucus. He was a delegate to the 1988 Democratic National Convention and headed the 1988 Missouri Jesse Jackson for President Campaign. Bass, 64, is a former principal and school administrator. Prior to his election to the state senate, he had served as St. Louis comptroller, social service director and alderman.

NEW YORK: BETTY J. BARNETTE, executive director of the Arbor Hill Community Center in Albany, made history when she was sworn in as city treasurer of Albany on August 19. Appointed by Mayor **THOMAS M. WHALEN III** to fill the vacancy left by the retiring incumbent, Barnette is the first black person to hold the position. To retain the position, she will have to stand for election in November, but so far no challengers have emerged and she carries the support of the mayor and the Democratic party. If she is victorious in November, Barnette will be the first black and the first woman elected to a post at Albany's city hall.

NORTH CAROLINA: PATTIE S. HARRISON, 45, a black former assistant district attorney, was sworn in as district court judge for the 9th Judicial District of North Carolina in July. The district covers the northeastern region of the state including the towns of Henderson, Roxboro, and Oxford. Harrison had served as assistant district attorney for the 9th District since 1985. She was appointed court judge by the state's Republican governor **JAMES MARTIN** to fill the unexpired term of black judge **FLOYD B. McKISSICK**, who died in April.

McKissick, a noted civil rights activist, was counsel and national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) during the '60s. He persuaded the Nixon administration to support the establishment of an all- black "new-town"—Soul City, North Carolina—as a symbol of black economic empowerment. McKissick became the district's first black judge last year on appointment by Martin, and Harrison is now the district's first female judge. To keep the post she will have to run for reelection in 1992. A former high school and special education teacher, Harrison received a law degree from North Carolina Central University in 1983.

TEXAS: If 36-year-old black state representative **SYLVESTER TURNER** were a betting man, the odds would encourage him to put his money on Houston Mayor **KATHY WHITMIRE**, who has won seven consecutive bids for office since 1977—two for city comptroller and five for mayor. But Turner isn't betting on the odds. Instead, the Harvard Law School graduate is hoping to defy them with his own mayoral bid in the November 5 nonpartisan election. **ROBERT LANIER**, 65, a wealthy white businessman and former head of the city's transportation system, is also challenging Whitmire.

A Houston native, Turner is a two-term state representative and the first black person elected to represent Houston's predominantly white and affluent 139th district. According to Rice University political science professor **ROBERT STEIN**, Turner appeals to blacks and affluent whites, but Lanier's August entrance into the campaign is expected to peel away some of Turner's white support and, Stein says, he may not be able to galvanize a large enough share of the black vote to be victorious.

Whitmire has proven to be tough to beat, capturing at least 58 percent of the vote in her past reelection bids. Each time, the black community has voted heavily in her favor (more than 75 percent) according to political analyst **FRANKLIN D. JONES** of historically black Texas Southern University, located in Houston. Jones attributes Whitmire's support among blacks to her cultivation of black community groups over the years and her appointment of blacks to key positions in city government—such as police commissioner and health director.

Whitmire has competed against one other black candidate in her mayoral bids, Houston Justice of the Peace **ALEXANDER GREEN**, who along with 14 other candidates (including Whitmire) challenged incumbent mayor **JIM McCONN** in 1981. As mayor, Whitmire hasn't committed any major blunders or alienated any significant voting blocs, and she has assembled a well-oiled political machine that has already defeated two former mayors—in 1985 and 1989.

Diversity and American Competitiveness

If the U.S. Is to Retain Its Position as the World's Economic Leader, It Must Continue Progress in Mainstreaming Minorities in the Workplace

by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

The following article is adapted from a speech Mr. Jordan delivered to a group of business executives at Bohemian Grove in Monte Rio, California, on July 19, 1991.

Today, America finds itself at a unique moment in history. We stand as the world's foremost economic power. Despite all the stories of decline, we produce more than Japan, consume more than Europe, and remain the most productive, richest nation in the world. Yet maintaining economic preeminence in this changing world will depend upon America's capacity for renewal and upon our ability to finally come to terms with the racial problems that have plagued us throughout our history.

The *Workforce 2000* report by the Hudson Institute says 85 percent of new work force entrants in this decade will be racial minorities, immigrants, and women. This new diversity affects the political and economic life of America. For the nation to maintain its world leadership position it must do what the armed forces appear to have done to a greater degree than any other institutions in our society—to draw on all of our society's human resources, enable all of our people to become productive contributors, value diversity, and combat discrimination. America is still very far from demonstrating its ability to do that.

Unfortunately, we are not moving forward to resolve our historic racial problems. Instead, we are literally moving backward—rehashing issues we thought were settled, such as affirmative action, and politicizing racial issues to fan white resentments. We want to think of ourselves as a color-blind society, but racial stereotyping is pervasive and race remains a central factor in the life of the nation.

The struggles over the Civil Rights Acts of 1990 and 1991 illustrate that. President Bush has a record of support for civil rights, but he became the first president in modern times to successfully veto a civil rights bill. Instead of being consistent with his past and with the principle of equal opportunity, the president listened to his close advisors and the cynical political consultants who saw another Willie Horton-style vote-getting issue. The White House focus has been on what will play at the polls, not on what is good for the country.

Business's Stake in Civil Rights

The business community has a lot at stake in resolving this issue. That's why the Business Roundtable leadership took part in negotiations with civil rights leaders to try to work out a compromise civil rights bill the president could accept. Those efforts ran into a stone wall when top White House officials coerced these business representatives to break off the talks.

The business community should have been up in arms, defending its right to participate in the Democratic process. It should have protested the ruthless attempt of the White House staff to run a bulldozer over its representatives. Instead, much of the business community was silent. I understand the concerns expressed by business executives regarding portions of the bill. But none of those concerns touched matters of principle, and all of them could have been negotiated given a White House amenable to compromise.

The Civil Rights Act is something business should support for its own long-term interest. First, because it essentially restores laws it has lived with and benefitted from. Second, because it advances equal opportunities for a diverse work force and it is in business's interest to secure that work force. Third, because strong anti-discrimination laws eliminate free riders. They force everybody to act right, and punish only those who don't. Fourth, because anything that draws minorities and women into the mainstream and ends discriminatory practices is better for America and therefore better for business. Finally, I believe business should support the civil rights bill as a moral imperative.

Deeply Embedded Inequities

The struggle over the Civil Rights Act and the controversies over affirmative action illustrate the change in the civil rights effort since the 1960s, when we as a nation were concerned with relatively simple issues—colored water fountains, the back of the bus, legally segregated schools, the right to vote. On those issues, blacks and whites alike marched around the walls of Jericho, blew their trumpets of righteousness, and the walls came tumbling down.

Those victories took energy, imagination, creativity, sore feet, pained ankles, blood, sweat, tears, and death. They were victories that made America feel good about itself, victories that opened new horizons for black people, victories that liberated white people, as well. Those victories were consistent with the moral principles central to the American experience and ideals.

(Continued on page 6)

Mr. Jordan is senior partner of Akin, Gump, Hauer, & Feld and is member of the Joint Center's board of governors.

Diversity

(Continued from page 5)

But the debris from those crumbling walls is still with us. The debris confuses and confounds a nation that fought the good fight and thought its victories would inaugurate a new era of racial harmony. It did not, in part because discrimination does not disappear when you pass a civil rights law. When we removed the top layer of easily recognizable evil, we revealed other layers of deeply embedded inequities that have become compounded by changes in other areas of the economy and the society. So despite the marked and very visible gains made by black people, we have a long, rugged road yet to travel.

Oddly enough, it was President Lyndon Johnson, who passed the civil rights laws and launched the War on Poverty, who best understood the difficulty of overcoming racial disadvantage. "To be black in white society," said Johnson, "is not to stand on level and equal ground. While the races may stand side by side, whites stand on history's mountain and blacks stand in history's hollow. Until we overcome unequal history, we cannot overcome unequal opportunity.[5]

Overcoming unequal history suggests institutional action—government—to intervene with economic, educational, and social programs that create opportunities; and by the private sector—through enlightened, corporate social responsibility, self-interested affirmative action, and community programs that give disadvantaged minorities a stake in the system.

Buzzword Solutions

Unfortunately, today's prevailing orthodoxy is different. It says that anyone can get ahead in our colorblind society—all it takes is self-reliance and individual initiative. The problems we're facing today cannot be solved by buzzwords—those partial truths that obscure, rather than clarify, problems and their solutions. Self-reliance and individual responsibility are not the sole solutions to issues of welfare, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, hunger, homelessness, poor children, schools that do not teach and children that cannot read. Nor are lectures on self-reliance substitutes for food, shelter, health insurance, or quality education.

I find it condescending and insulting that blacks are singled out for such lectures. The position of blacks in our society was never determined by our own individual efforts, but by institutional discrimination that denied opportunities in the past and that continues to deny them in the present. Concepts like self-reliance were not discovered by conservative critics—they have been believed in and practiced by generation after generation of black people who relied on their own wits and work and wisdom to survive slavery, peonage, oppression, and injustice.

Many people suffer disadvantage today not because they lack values, but because our society refuses to implement enabling policies that can open doors of opportunity. Self-reliance and individual initiative are necessary but not sufficient to help end poverty and disadvantage. It is unseemly that those values are hawked the loudest by those who have benefited most from governmental interventions that created today's middle class. I am reminded of a West Coast flight from New York during my Urban League days. My seat mate was a successful white businessman, who, after his first martini, advised me that black people had to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. After his third martini, I asked him a few questions.

"Where did you attend college?" An Eastern private school on the *GI Bill.*

"What is your business and how did you get started?" Construction—*SBA loan.*

"Where do you live and how did you get your house?" Scarsdale—*FHA loan.*

So much for lifting yourself up by your bootstraps.

Which Side Are We On?

Those of us who sit in seats of corporate power, and who have influence in the economic and political affairs of our nation, have to help it change. Our personal fates, our companies' profits, our nation's future, depend on America changing. For every child that grows up hungry or homeless, every child that grows up uneducated, every young adult denied training and job opportunities, represents precious human resources America cannot afford to lose. America has repeatedly proven itself the land of freedom and opportunity. Our free enterprise system has repeatedly proven itself a system that delivers prosperity and opportunity.

But neither America nor the free enterprise system is finished. Rather, they are evolving to become more inclusive, more effective, more positive, more competitive forces in the world. It is our role to help speed that evolution along, to bring the promise of freedom and justice and prosperity to all Americans. For America has never developed on a straight, upward trajectory. It has always moved ahead, slipped backward, and moved on again. It is up to us to smooth the path ahead and to help America move forward faster. Our competitors are moving and they will not wait for us to straighten out our schools or to train the untrained or to draw the people on the margins into the mainstream.

A friend told me a story about his son who went to bed but could not sleep and so padded down to the den where his parents were watching George Stevens Jr.'s television drama, *Separate But Equal*, the story of Thurgood Marshall and the legal challenge to segregated schools. When the documentary ended, my friend sent the boy off to bed and the youngster slowly moved toward the door, rubbing his eyes. Then he turned and said to his father:

"Daddy, which side were you on?"

Some day in the future, there will be a documentary about the 1990s, and how America confronted the challenge of continuing racial inequality. What will our answer be when our grandchildren ask, "Which side were you on?" ■

Crown Heights: Dreadlocks and Yarmulkes

A Black Youth Reflects on the Clash Between Blacks and Jews in Brooklyn and the Cultural Estrangement That Divides His Neighborhood

by John L. Jackson

Editor's note: *On August 19, a vehicle driven by a member of a Hasidic Jewish sect ran a red light and struck and killed a seven-year-old black boy in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. The incident sparked several days of local rioting and exchanges of recriminations between Hasidic Jews and blacks, many of whom are from the West Indies. Amid the turmoil, a male Hasidic student from Australia was stabbed to death, apparently in retaliation.*

As representatives of America's black and Jewish communities engage in a dialogue to understand the underlying causes of the confrontation, many are concerned that Crown Heights is symptomatic of broader tensions running between two groups that for decades have been allies. But to what extent can we generalize from this tragic incident to the broader state of relations between blacks and Jews? And what might we learn from the incident that can help to prevent such tragedies and improve relationships, not only between blacks and Jews, but among the many diverse groups that make up our society?

Crown Heights is an unusual community. The majority of the black population is of West Indian background, and the Hasidic Jews involved are a small group with unique religious practices and beliefs. The article that follows is by a black youth who grew up in Crown Heights and views what happened there as less a case of racial friction and more a conflict of cultures.

Just as important as the conflict itself were the responses to it. Prominent in the press coverage of the incident were a few visible personalities who responded by encouraging anti-Jewish sentiment among the already angry black residents. What was not widely reported were the efforts of an array of black community leaders and public officials who worked diligently and effectively to restore calm and begin a healing process.

I was born in Brooklyn and have lived in or around Crown Heights for all my 20 years. That isn't true of my parents and many of the other blacks living in Crown Heights who were born and grew up in the West Indies. For as long as I can remember, Hasidic Jews have lived among us in this tree-lined section of Brooklyn with its well-kept row houses. We are neighbors who rarely speak to each other. The courtesies and greetings shared by neighbors in other communities are not observed here—no "Good morning" or "How have you been?" pass between us. Contact between the two groups is typified by a black patron at a Jewish-owned candy store saying, "Lemme get a bag of chips," and a remote "What else?" in response from the shopkeeper.

The lines of non-interaction are strictly drawn. The two groups walk up and down the same sidewalks every day—male Hasidim in their yarmulkes, black three-piece suits, long black beards and side locks, the West Indians in their jeans, basketball shoes, and dreadlocks or hightop fades—exchanging only a passing half-smile or a cool glance. A palpable tension was always present though hidden beneath a cloak of indifference. Squeezed into the same geographical location, we have always been worlds apart, with neither side attempting to visit the other's world.

This mutually exclusive coexistence was a time bomb. On August 19, 1991, the bomb exploded when a clash between blacks and Jews rocked the neighborhood and the nation. The confrontation was ignited by the death of a seven-year-old boy from a West Indian family who was killed when a station wagon that was part of a three-car caravan carrying Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, grand rebbe of the Lubavitcher Hasidic sect, drove through a red light and plowed into the child on his bike. The incident led to three days of bottle-throwing riots and demonstrations in the neighborhood and the retaliatory stabbing death of a 29-year-old Hasidic student from Australia.

The sensationalized headlines proclaiming "racial violence" got it wrong. This was not just a case of blacks vs. whites. The confrontation could more accurately be characterized as a conflict in cultures. Many West Indians grow up seeing two very different cultures existing side-by-side, harboring an unspoken intolerance of their differences. The blacks in Crown Heights listen to calypso or soka music, eat roti and curried chicken, and speak with heavy Caribbean accents that sound like foreign languages to anyone (black or white) unfamiliar with the dialect. By contrast, the Hasidic Jews never seem to listen to music and walk to temple every Saturday (the Jewish Sabbath).

At about six or seven years old, I remember asking my mother where "those people" came from. I knew where she was from, a small island called Antigua in the middle of the Caribbean; I'd even been there, but hadn't seen any of "those people" in her homeland. Why? My mother didn't have any answers for me. Like most of her generation of West Indian immigrants to America, my mother, now in her 40s, arrived when she was a teenager. She told me there weren't as many Jewish people around when she first came to the neighborhood.

When I was older, about 15 or 16, I sought the answers

Mr. Jackson, a recent intern at the Joint Center, is a junior at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Democrats

(Continued from page 4)

But party insiders now ask: if the Democrats do develop a strong message, who will be their messenger? The current field of Democratic presidential aspirants consists of relative unknowns: former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas, senators Bob Kerrey of Nebraska and Tom Harkin of Iowa, governors L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia and Bill Clinton of Arkansas, and former California governor Jerry Brown. So far, no big-name Democrat has emerged as a candidate to command national attention.

Democratic strategist Michael McCurry asserts that ever since Jerry Brown first entered the presidential arena in 1976, a succession of candidates have promoted new ways for the party to address national problems, but failed badly—former Colorado senator Gary Hart with his "New Generation" in 1984, former Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt with a populist message in 1988. Kerrey and Clinton, he says, may try it in next year's campaign. But McCurry concedes, "it is tough to introduce a new message with a new messenger."

Nevertheless, the party's messenger in 1992 will benefit from a refitted DNC. Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald Brown has taken steps to turn the committee into a strategy and mechanics center, one that will allow the party's nominee to get a fast start in the general election after the convention next July.

"Organizationally, I don't think the Democratic party has ever been stronger," says Richard Callow, a Washington-based Democratic strategist. "But organization doesn't win the presidency. The Democratic party is the party of 1,000 factions, and the national tendency is for voters to look at some of the factions and say, 'that can't be me'...people want a party that represents them." By contrast, the Republican party, Callow says, has managed to capture the allegiance of American voters by standing for very little. ■

Crown Heights

(Continued from page 7)

to my questions about the people in the black three-piece suits from Oscar. He was two years my senior and, I believed, a few marbles wiser, too. He wasn't a "Yankee" like me but had been born "back home," in Trinidad. Oscar viewed Brooklyn as someone who had seen another world and could compare the two. He lectured, and I, the ignorant Yankee, listened to his orations on the Jews in Crown Heights.

"Dey come in heah," he'd say, "an' ignore we. Dey sell to us in de stores; dey'll make a dollah off we, but dey won't take a second in de street to say nottin' to nobody. Money go from black hand to white hand because dem and the Chinese own most de stores. See, but it is different with the Jews dem. Dey live wit we, an' hardly a nickel pass from dey hand to we own. We lettin' dem take all we moneys, and soon dey gonna buy up alla Crown Heights. And we just stand 'round lettin' it happen."

I haven't seen Oscar for years now but, since the August flare-up, the resentment he expressed in our talks has found new angry voices in black people shouting "No Justice, No Peace!" Walking around the neighborhood in August, I had heard not only the cries of anger and resentment from West Indians directed against Hasidim, but an equally loud outcry from the Hasidic community. Members of the latter community felt they had been good neighbors, and they countered West Indian protests against them with charges of "anti-Semitism." Now West Indian bitterness, always in the back of the community's collective mind, and the pent-up contempt of the Hasidim for the West Indians have become a volatile mixture that has moved to the forefront of everyone's lives. As Crown Heights recedes from the national headlines, the wounds of August will remain open in my neighborhood, and it will take a long time for them to heal. ■

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Volume 19, No.11 **November 1991**

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Investing In Our Human Capital

For many black Americans, the bridge to good jobs is short and the ladder of upward mobility is low. This state of affairs is, in part, attributable to inadequate education and to racism, as documented in numerous studies over the years and most recently in the U.S. Labor Department's "Glass Ceiling" report. But there's something else at work that impedes blacks from entering and moving up in the workplace—the restructuring of the U.S. economy. The steel mills of Pittsburgh have been leveled, auto plants in Flint have been closed, and Japanese tires are advertised on American TV.

Twenty years ago, U.S. manufacturers of steel, automobiles, rubber and other products enabled many blacks, even those who hadn't finished high school, opportunities to provide their families with middle-class lifestyles and a chance for their children to attend college. But in the 1970s and '80s, the U.S. economy has undergone a process of restructuring away from traditional manufacturing and toward new ventures in high-tech industries and services. In this great national shuffle, too few black men and women have been brought into the employment profiles of these emerging businesses as technicians, professionals, and managers.

This situation brings up a critical challenge that corporations based in our major urban centers must face: to ensure that ladders of upward mobility accommodate more black professionals and executives. This supports one of the main conclusions of a unique Joint Center study of five urban areas with large black populations—Atlanta, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Richmond, and St. Louis. The portion of the study that relates to Baltimore was released September in a special report: "Moving Up With Baltimore, Creating Career Ladders for Blacks in the Private Sector," which focuses on career opportunities for black professionals and managers in that city's private sector.

In Baltimore, since World War II, there has been a loss of over 50,000 manufacturing jobs. New companies specialize in life sciences, financial services, and biotechnological manufacturing. There has also been a growth in the professions—architecture, engineering, and legal services. Baltimore's economic restructuring has displaced black workers from blue-collar occupations (operators and laborers) without recruiting blacks in expanding senior management and high-paying professions.

The Investing in Baltimore Committee (IBC), a small corps of the city's black business executives who supported a portion of the study, was established over two years ago to pursue ways to narrow the gap between blacks in the public and private sectors. The committee has also sought ways to increase the number of black managers in Baltimore companies. In 1988, blacks only comprised 4.2 percent of the officials and managers in private firms compared to 14.4 percent among whites. Similarly, during the same year, blacks made up only 5.1 percent of professionals, while the comparable figure for whites was 18 percent. In a city that has nearly a 60 percent black population and a high percentage of blacks in its public leadership, there should not be such a scarcity of black professionals and managers in the private sector.

This problem is not unique to Baltimore. It is incumbent upon corporations across the broad spectrum of the business community in every city to develop strategies that tap all the human resources available.

The onus to recruit and retain high-quality and diverse managerial and technical staffs, however, rests with senior corporate executives. Central to any strategy for improvement must be a commitment from top management to change a company's employment practices. With 85 percent of working Americans now employed in the private sector, the stakes are very high indeed. ■

Eddie N. Williams
PRESIDENT

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First World Poverty

Poverty in the U.S. Is More Severe and Long Term Than in Europe, Where Governments Protect Their Citizens from Hardship Better

by Katherine McFate

During the 1980s, poverty and economic inequality increased in most Western democracies, raising the specter of expanding First World poverty. The wrenching economic restructuring that has taken place in industrialized nations, brought on by rapid changes in global trade and production, has left a large proportion of working-age citizens unemployed, underemployed, and economically insecure. This, in turn, has placed a tremendous strain on traditional welfare and support programs.

In 1989, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies launched a three-year research project to document these changes, and government responses to them, in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. The project was cochaired by sociologists William J. Wilson of the University of Chicago and Roger Lawson of the University of Southampton (England) and involved over 30 distinguished scholars from North America and Europe. The summary that follows has been adapted from "Poverty, Inequality, and the Crisis of Social Policy," a report of selected study findings (available from the Joint Center).

Although the U.S. experienced more steady economic growth and lower unemployment than most of Europe in the early 1980s, by mid-decade the U.S. poverty rate was more than double that of every continental European country examined. (Poverty in this study was defined as household income that fell below one-half a nation's median income). The governments of the countries studied have responded differently to the pressures created by economic restructuring. Advanced Western democracies vary in their capacity and willingness to use political institutions to mediate the effects of economic change, and this has caused wide disparities in the incidence, duration, and distribution of poverty in these countries.

The U.S. today has a higher incidence of poverty in every nonelderly segment of its population than each of the other nations studied: one in every five U.S. nonelderly households is poor, one in four young households (headed by 20 to 29 year olds) is poor, and over half of all households headed by a lone parent are poor. The U.S. is also the country in which the poor experience the longest spells of poverty and the only Western democracy that has failed to provide a significant proportion of its poor people with an adequate income.

Ms. McFate is a senior research associate at the Joint Center and coordinator of the International Poverty Project.

U.S. Poverty: Long-Term and Severe

It has often been argued that the economic inequality and high poverty rates suffered in the U.S. are the price paid for greater upward mobility, but the research found that for the poor no such trade-off exists. In the 1980s a much larger percentage of poor households with children remained poor for an extended period in the United States than in Western Europe and Canada. During a three-year longitudinal study conducted in the mid-1980s, more than 14 percent of all families with children in the U.S. were poor every year, compared to less than 2 percent of families with children in West Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Whites in the U.S. were twice as likely to be persistently poor as foreign immigrants in West Germany (predominantly Turks), while black Americans were 10 times as likely to be persistently poor as foreigners in West Germany.

Not only is poverty in the U.S. more long-term, it is likely to be more severe than in continental Europe. Almost 14 percent of all households in the U.S. have incomes less than 40 percent of the national median; less than 7 percent of the households in Western Europe have incomes that low. (See table 1.)

In responding to poverty, European welfare systems provide higher minimum standards of income support than are available in the U.S. or Canada. In sharp contrast to

Table 1. Percent of households in *more severe poverty, mid-1980s, by nation and household structure.**

	All Households	All Families with Children	All Lone-Parent Families with Children
United States	13.6	17.5	44.9
Canada	8.9	9.3	29.4
United Kingdom	7.0	8.6	7.7
West Germany	3.2	3.1	12.5
Netherlands	5.7	3.9	5.1
France	6.1	5.3	10.7
Sweden	5.9	2.9	3.6

* *More severe poverty* is defined as household income of less than 40 percent of national adjusted median income.

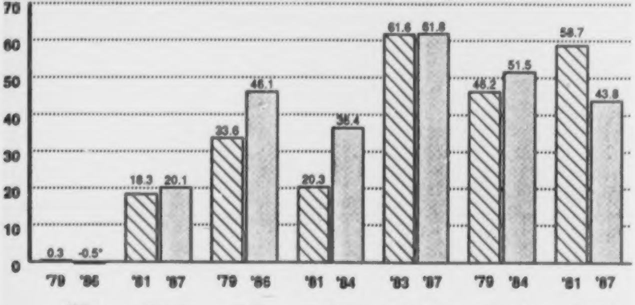
(Continued on next page)

Poverty

(Continued from page 3)

other Western democracies, government policies in the U.S. failed to reduce overall poverty levels in the 1980s (See Table 2). In every European country studied, at least a third (and in some countries almost two-thirds) of nonelderly poor households were lifted out of poverty by income transfers (these include welfare and unemployment benefits). Even in Canada, whose poverty rates (before income-transfer assistance) most closely approached those of the U.S., one-fifth of poor households were helped to achieve minimum income security. In the U.S., less than 5 percent of lone parent-families with children were lifted out of poverty by government transfers, and no other category of nonelderly families was given enough income assistance (by welfare, unemployment insurance, or social security payments) to remove them from poverty.

Table 2. Percent of poor households* lifted out of poverty by government transfer and tax systems.



*Ranked as poor before receipt of transfer and tax assistance.

The Challenge for American Policymakers

The study's findings demonstrate a simple fact that seems to have been lost in the ideological battles of the 1980s: government policies can and do make a difference. Citizens in all these countries experienced greater labor-market insecurities as a result of global economic restructuring. The U.S. economy was performing better and creating more jobs in the period covered by this research than the other countries. But the market does not distribute jobs or wages equally, and many U.S. citizens—especially young people, minorities, and the least skilled—were not included in the 1980s recovery. Government assistance was the only source of support for many of these individuals and families, but U.S. social programs did not serve them well. Over 60 percent of unemployed people in the U.S. today do not receive unemployment insurance benefits, and income support for families with children has diminished over the decade. It is because the United States' "safety net" programs are so meager relative to European countries' that poverty rates here are so much higher.

What can be learned from the Europeans about policies to help the poor? The answer varies according to the specific target group. Minorities are disadvantaged on both sides of the Atlantic; ongoing discrimination in the private labor market and persistent educational deficits reinforce one another to leave minorities everywhere standing behind whites and native citizens in the employment queue. The Netherlands and West Germany have followed an alternative path: by regulating wage differentials and offering generous social assistance to the jobless, they have prevented minorities from falling too far below the mainstream standard of living. These policies have ensured that minority families in these two nations are not trapped in persistent poverty as are so many black families in the United States.

Changed economic circumstances have created special problems for new labor-market entrants, particularly the unschooled and unskilled. Many governments have established training and school-to-work transition programs to improve skills, increase access to on-the-job training, and circumvent long-term idleness among the young. The experiences of France, Italy, and West Germany suggest that such programs are only effective when they have the active support of private employers and are carefully monitored by the government. Indeed, the most successful apprenticeship program—West Germany's—has institutionalized a tripartite relationship among business, government, and labor unions to ensure that a modern system of training integrates non-university-bound young people into core sectors of the economy.

Needed: A Family Policy

It is in the area of family policy that the U.S. clearly has the most to learn from Europe. All the continental European countries offer universal access to health care, and most have state-guaranteed advance child-support payments for lone parents with absent spouses. All have universal child allowances, entitlements given to all families with children.

In European countries where mothers are expected to work, high-quality public day care is provided, and parental leave policies further increase the ease with which mothers can return to the labor force after child-bearing. France has created time-limited programs, designed to meet the varying needs associated with a family's lifecycle. Special allowances are given when a child is young (under three years old) or when the mother is in transition (newly divorced or widowed).

In countries where mothers are not expected to work, the government provides generous income assistance through tax and income-transfer systems. In the U.K., 75 percent of the lone-parent families have been lifted out of poverty by government income-support programs. In the Netherlands the figure is 90 percent.

(Continued on back page)

November 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- Women make significant gains in the ranks of elected black officials according to the newest edition of the Joint Center's annual *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster.*
- Amnesty International reports that torture, extrajudicial executions, and other human rights abuses are widespread on the African continent.
- Across the Nation looks at the reelection of mayors Richard Arrington in Birmingham and Kurt Schmoke in Baltimore; the election to Congress of Philadelphia's Lucien Blackwell, and the victory of Willie Herenton as mayor of Memphis; and the Houston mayoral runoff involving Sylvester Turner.

Female BEOs Make Inroads in High Level Offices

The number of black elected officials (BEOs) in the United States continues to grow. As of January 31, 1991, 7,490 BEOs were in office, which is a 1.6 percent increase over last year's count of 7,370 according to the 1991 edition of the Joint Center's annual volume, *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster.* As in previous years, most of the BEOs are found in the South, which has the nation's largest concentration (52.8 percent) of blacks of voting age. The South accounted for 67.6 percent of all BEOs. The Midwest, with 18.7 percent of the nation's blacks of voting age, had 17.7 percent of the BEOs. The Northeast, with 19.4 percent (population), continued to be underrepresented with only 10 percent (BEOs), as did the West, with 9.6 percent (population) versus 4.7 percent (BEOs). The ranking of the 10 states with the largest number of black elected officials has remained virtually unchanged from previous years. And as in the past, they are concentrated in the old Confederacy. Alabama led the way with 707 BEOs, followed by Mississippi (691), Louisiana (551), Georgia (511), Illinois (476), North Carolina (443), South Carolina (405), Arkansas (351), Michigan (305), and Texas (298).

While the 1990 roster year (February 1, 1989, to January 31, 1990) represented breakthroughs in black electoral progress, with more blacks being elected in predominantly white jurisdictions than ever before, the 1991 roster year (February 1, 1990 to January 31, 1991) witnessed substantial gains by female BEOs in high-level offices. Since 1970, the number of elected black women has been growing rapidly: the ratio of women to men among black elected officials in 1970 was 1:12, but today it is less than 1:4. Not only has the gender gap narrowed but women are being elected to higher positions than before. In the past, they were concentrated at the local level, mostly as school board members. Black women are now making their presence felt in the federal and state legislatures and as leaders of large cities.

The number of elected black women rose between 1990 and 1991 from 1,950 to 2,054. This 5.3 percent increase was recorded mainly in federal and state offices. There was little change at the regional, county, and municipal levels. **CARDISS COLLINS** (D-Ill.), who chairs the House Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness, was able to welcome four more black women to Congress: **MAXINE WATERS** (D-Calif.), **BARBARA-ROSE COLLINS** (D-Mich.), **ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON** (D-D.C.), and "Shadow Senator" **FLORENCE PENDELTON** (D-D.C.). Female BEOs have also asserted themselves in state legislatures, where they now comprise 27 percent of all black representatives and hold 51 committee chairmanships and vice chairmanships. In California, for example, state Senator **DIANE WATSON** chairs the Committee on Health and Human Services, and Assemblywoman **GWEN MOORE** chairs the Committee on Utilities and Commerce. By the end of the 1990 roster year, 78 black women were in state houses and 18 in state senates. One year later, these numbers had grown to 98 in the state houses (a 25.6 percent increase) and 23 in state senates (a 27.8 percent increase). The states of Georgia and Arkansas had the most notable increases, adding five and three women legislators, respectively. Three other states elected black female state legislators for the first time: Alaska, Rhode Island, and West Virginia.

In 1990 another black woman was elected chief executive of a city with more than 100,000 residents: **SHARON PRATT DIXON** of Washington, D.C., joined **CARRIE PERRY** of Hartford (first elected in 1987) as mayor of a major U.S. city. **STEPHANIE TUBBS-JONES** became the first black to head the prosecutor's office in Cuyahoga County's history (the county encompasses Cleveland, Ohio). Running as an underdog, she ended the 34-year reign of the "Corrigan dynasty" by defeating **MICHAEL J. CORRIGAN**, son of former prosecutor **JOHN T. CORRIGAN**. While black women are still far from reaching numerical parity with their elected male counterparts, the outlook for growth in their ranks is bright.

Number of black elected officials in the United States, by state and office, January 1991

			Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1989	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshalls	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	707	2					5	19			72	2	14	32	411				1	14	41	6	6		2		81	1
Alaska	3	-1						1							2													
Arizona	18	7					1	3						2	3					3						1	5	
Arkansas	351	7					3	9						24	153			19		4	35					2	102	
Califormia	261	-20		4			2	7	3		8		2	9	39	6		7	1	75		1	1			15	80	1
Colorado	17	3					1	3							2					8		1					2	
Connecticut	67	1		1		1	2	7						3	31	5		2			1						14	
Delaware	27	5					1	2			1		1	3	10					1	1	1					6	
District of Columbia*	208	-27		1										1	12		185										6	
Florida	184	7					2	12			12	2		15	95	1		2	1	23			2				15	2
Georgia	511	16		1		1	8	27			99		4	18	234	3		2	1	20	2	1	2			2	84	2
Hawaii	0	-1																										
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	476	15		3		1	7	14			36	2	1	19	166	53		21		22		1				2	128	
Indiana	74	6				1	2	6			13			1	30		7	2		4							8	
Iowa	12	-2						1			2				4							1					4	
Kansas	20	-3					1	3			3				4					2							7	
Kentucky	71	1					1	2			1			1	52					3	2	1					8	
Louisana	551	24		1			4	15			115	1		19	168			2		20	45	3	15		1		142	
Maine	1	-1												1														
Maryland	132	14		1			7	24			6			8	55	1	1			19		4					6	
Massachusetts	31	-5					1	5			1				11	5					1						7	
Michigan	305	-4		2		1	3	12			21			11	69			16	1	63	4				1	13	88	
Minnesota	13	1						1							2					6			1				3	
Mississippi	691	22		1		1	2	20			67	51	7	32	302			3		36	33	9	7				112	8
Missouri	175	6		2			3	13			2			15	98	1		4		11		2	2			2	20	
Montana	0																											
Nebraska	4	0					1								1												2	
Nevada	9	-1					1	2			1				2					1						1	1	
New Hampshire	2	0						2																				
New Jersey	213	12		1			2	6			5		1	11	102			1									84	
New Mexico	4	-2													1					2							1	
New York	277	14		4			5	17			14			4	29	3		1	1	62	2	1					134	
North Carolina	443	-10					5	14			45	2	1	19	257				1	18		2	3			2	74	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	214	5		1			2	11			1	1		10	101	3		10		28		1			1		44	
Oklahoma	122	6				1	2	3			2		1	14	49			27		1			1				21	
Oregon	14	3					2	1			1				3	2				4							1	
Pennsylvania	139	-3		1			3	15						4	42			1	1	33	13	1					25	
Rhode Island	12	1					1	7							3												1	
South Carolina	405	9					6	15			70	3	2	16	154	1				4	3		5			1	125	
South Dakota	2	-1												1	1													
Tennessee	166	17		1			3	10			46		2	3	52					12	10	2	1				24	
Texas	298	-7		1			2	13			16			14	121	1				13	23				2	5	87	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	2	0						2																				
Virginia	152	3			1		3	7			41		3	5	76			3	1	2		7	3					
Virgin Islands	35	0			1	1	12			12															9			
Washington	20	0						2			1			2	5					6							4	
West Virginia	25	0						2						1	18					2	1	1						
Wisconsin	23	1					1	5			3				7					3			1				3	
Wyoming	2	0					1																				1	
Total	7490	120		26	2	8	108	340	3	12	705	64	39	318	2977	85	193	123	9	526	217	46	50		16	46	1560	14

* Includes two shadow senators and one shadow representative

Source: Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1991

Human Rights Abuses in Africa

In 1981, **VERA CHIRWA** and her husband, **ORTON CHIRWA**, were jailed without charge or trial simply because they said that they thought Malawi should be governed differently. The couple was finally brought to trial in 1983, convicted of treason, and sentenced to death. After an international outcry, the Chirwas' sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. They remain in prison for the non-violent expression of political beliefs and yet they may be considered relatively fortunate, to judge by the many tragic accounts catalogued in Amnesty International's 1990 annual human rights report (the most recent edition) released this year. Last year, people in half the world's countries were jailed as prisoners of conscience, and more than 100 governments continued to torture or abuse prisoners. People were "disappeared" or extrajudicially executed without trial in 29 countries.

The 1990 report documents many such human rights violations in Africa. Citizens in several African nations continued to experience political repression, with jailings and torture on a massive scale. Many citizens were beaten, or subjected to electric shock, plunged in bitterly cold water, deprived of sleep, burned with cigarettes, or murdered outright by agents of their government. Many people died as a result of torture, with the greatest number of such deaths reported in Mauritania.

Not all the news in Africa is bad. In the past 18 months, landmark political reforms have resulted in the establishment of multiple parties in several nations that had long been single-party regimes. Open political debate has begun to occur on an unprecedented scale. The death penalty was abolished in three counties—Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique—and greater human rights safeguards were introduced in others. Countries that have made progress include Benin, where political prisoners were released and political reforms were followed by important changes affecting human rights, and Zambia, where 10 political prisoners serving long prison terms were freed and opposition political parties were legalized. On November 2 of this year, President **KENNETH KAUNDA**, who ruled Zambia since 1964, was defeated by trade unionist **FREDERICK CHILUBA** in that country's first multiparty election in more than 20 years.

However, despite these hopeful changes, Amnesty International says abuses continue, and in some countries signs of reform have not ended political imprisonment, torture, unfair trials, "disappearances," or unlawful killings. Following are selected African countries where human rights abuses continue:

Sudan. Over the last year, hundreds of real and suspected political opponents of the government were arrested without charges. Some were detained in 1989 and are still being held without charges or trial. About 30 army officers, suspected of participating in an alleged coup attempt, were executed after unfair trials.

Mauritania. The persecution of citizens in the southern region of Mauritania reached disturbing new heights in 1990 when the country's National Guard, supported by the Haratine Militia, arrested thousands of civilians and randomly killed unarmed villagers in virtually all parts of the south along the banks of the Senegal river. Many of those arrested were held without charge or trial for several months and tortured while in detention.

South Africa. Moderate political changes did not end human rights violations. The ban on the African National Congress and other opposition groups was lifted and freedom fighter **NELSON MANDELA** was freed, but spiraling political violence in 1990 led to thousands of deaths, and 1,500 government critics and opponents were held without charge or trial. Some were tortured or ill-treated in police custody—at least 18 detainees died under suspicious circumstances. In 1991, while the authorities have continued to talk about political reform, the level of violence has continued to grow; the government has failed to repeal repressive security legislation and has failed to call the security forces to account for the abuses they have committed.

JACK HEALEY, executive director of Amnesty International USA, argues that the complexity of the human rights situation in Africa only highlights the need for the U.S. and other industrialized democracies "to make a commitment to uphold a single human rights standard at home or abroad." Healey believes that while current U.S. foreign policy in Africa is aimed at the promotion of multiparty democracy, democracy alone will not guarantee the protection of human rights. He has called on the U.S. government to give human rights a more prominent role in the formulation of its foreign policy, whether the nations concerned are friend or foe. Healey asserts that U.S. ratification of key human rights treaties would be an important initial step that would give substance to the President's theme of "the rule of law."

ACROSS THE NATION

ALABAMA: Birmingham mayor **RICHARD ARRINGTON** fought off five competitors to win a fourth term as mayor. Arrington won 63 percent of the vote in the October 8 nonpartisan election. He defeated three other black challengers: municipal judge **EMORY ANTHONY, JR**., came in second with 32 percent of the vote, while Republican businessman **RICHARD H. FINLEY** and Socialist candidate **JOHN C. HAWKINS** finished a distant fifth and sixth respectively, each garnering less than one percent. Arrington was elected the city's first black mayor in 1978.

MARYLAND: In his bid for a second term as Baltimore's mayor, **KURT SCHMOKE** faced the same two opponents he faced in 1987 and beat them both again. In the September 12 primary, Schmoke defeated black former city council president **CLARENCE "DU" BURNS** with a comfortable 59 percent of the vote. In the November 5 general election he won 72 percent, easily eliminating Republican challenger **SAMUEL CULOTTA**. In 1987 Schmoke got by Burns with just over 5,000 votes in the primary, although he easily defeated Culotta in the general election that year (carrying 79 percent) to become "Charm City's" first elected black mayor (See May 1991 TL).

PENNSYLVANIA: If at first you don't succeed, try something else. This may become the new motto for veteran Philadelphia politician **LUCIEN BLACKWELL**, who failed in his May primary bid for mayor but triumphed in the November 5 election to fill the seat vacated by seven-term Congressman **WILLIAM H. GRAY III**. Gray resigned to head the United Negro College Fund (See Aug.-Sept. TL). Blackwell, who enjoys strong grassroots support in the black community, is a former state senator, city council member, and president of the International Longshoremen's Association, Local 332. He defeated four competitors, including two black officials: state senator **CHAKA FATTAH** and former secretary of state **JOHN WHITE, JR**., who resigned that post to make the Congressional bid. Blackwell won 39 percent of the vote, followed by Fattah (28 percent) and White (27 percent).

White Democrat **EDWARD RENDELL**, a former two-term district attorney, will replace the city's first black mayor, **W. WILSON GOODE**, who is prevented by law from running for a third term. Rendell defeated Republican **JOSEPH EGAN**, who was chosen by the GOP as its candidate after the July death of **FRANK RIZZO**, the city's former police commissioner and controversial two-term mayor.

TENNESSEE: On October 3, former city schools superintendent **WILLIE HERENTON** was elected mayor of Memphis. In the near-miss victory, Herenton defeated white incumbent **RICHARD "DICK" HACKETT** by 142 votes. The victory emerged from a 10-month effort to unify the black community—which constitutes 55 percent of the city's population—around a "consensus" candidate chosen under the auspices of two groups: the People's Convention led by city councilmember **SHEP WILBUN** and the Leadership Summit led by black Democratic Congressman **HAROLD FORD**. On April 27, the People's Convention elected Herenton as its candidate, and in June organizers of the Leadership Summit endorsed him. Herenton, who becomes the city's first elected black mayor, received less than 10 percent of the white vote, but the black community, which now leads the white community in registered voters, turned out in record numbers. Over half of the black precincts reported more than 95 percent turnouts.

The 51-year old Memphis native grew up in the city's public housing projects and worked his way through high school and college. A former amateur boxer, Herenton has a distinguished career as an educator that spans more than 25 years as teacher and principal and 12 years as superintendent of the Memphis school system, which has more than 100,000 students. He campaigned on a platform calling for more affordable housing and increased funding for education.

TEXAS: It was almost a coup. Thirty-seven year-old black state representative **SYLVESTER TURNER**, considered the underdog in the Houston mayoral campaign, came in second with 34 percent of the vote, beating five-term incumbent **KATHY WHITMIRE** who finished third on the November 5 ballot with 20 percent. Turner will face millionaire businessman **ROBERT LANIER** in a December 3 run-off. Lanier, a former chairman of the state's Highway and Public Transportation Commission (now the Texas Transportation Commission) finished first with 44 percent.

Turner, a two-term member of the state house of representatives and ~~a~~ Harvard-educated attorney, represents, a predominantly white, affluent area of the city. He wooed away many of Whitmire's black supporters, receiving 70 percent of the black vote and 25 percent of the Hispanic vote. The lion's share of Lanier's support came from the Hispanic and affluent white communities. Whitmire's upset is attributed to voter discontent with cime, the city's souring economy, and an anti-incumbency mood (Houstonians also voted to adopt a two-term limit for city officials). Crime dominanted the campaign. Both candidates have promised to beef up the police force, which lost more than 600 officers under the Whitmire administration due to budget constraints.

Turner is expected to get Whitmire's endorsement, but he will have to make tremendous inroads in the Hispanic and white communities to pull off a victory, since blacks represent only 28 percent of the city's population.

Redistricting Victories

Black Voters Make Significant Gains in Representation in the Louisiana Legislature and Virginia Senate Through Redistricting

by Frank R. Parker

Three Southern states, all on the "fast track" for redrawing voting district lines to accommodate fall elections this year, may offer a sneak preview of what lies ahead elsewhere in the country. The redistricting process in these states is the first test of whether the white-majority legislatures will fully comply with the Voting Rights Act and significantly increase the number of majority-black districts or, as in the past, will seek to dilute black voting strength.

In all three—Louisiana, Virginia, and Mississippi—black voters are underrepresented in the state legislatures. According to the 1990 census, Louisiana is one-third black, yet blacks account for only 14 percent (20 of 144) of its state legislators. Blacks in Mississippi are even more seriously underrepresented: The disparity between their population percentage and percentage in the legislature is 36 percent vs. 13 percent (22 of 174 members). In Virginia, which is 19 percent black, only 7 percent (10 of 140) of the state legislators are black.

The three states adopted statewide legislative redistricting plans in March and April and submitted them to the U.S. Department of Justice for approval, as required by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. This law requires that nine states (and parts of seven others) must prove that their plans are not racially discriminatory either in purpose or effect. In the end, redistricting gave black voters in Louisiana and Virginia new opportunities to win increased representation of their choice in this fall's elections.

However, black enfranchisement was dealt a setback in Mississippi, where a three-judge federal district court ordered the fall elections held within the pre-1990 district boundaries. This postpones until next year any possible increase in the state's majority-black districts. In each state, civil rights groups and state legislative black caucuses objected to the initial plans and urged Justice Department officials to reject them.

Louisiana: Blacks Submerged and Divided. The new plans adopted by Louisiana, passed in response to population shifts since 1980, created only two additional majority-black Senate districts and just four more House districts. The state legislative black caucus opposed both plans, because they fragmented black population concentrations. The caucus demonstrated through alternative plans that five more majority-black senatorial districts and 10 more majority-black House districts could have been created.

Assistant U.S. Attorney General John R. Dunne, who reviewed the redistricting plans, rejected Louisiana's Senate and House proposals in June and July. Dunne, who heads the Justice Civil Rights Division, concluded that the Senate had drawn districts to protect white incumbents, while alternative plans showed that more majority-black districts were possible. Dunne rejected House districts in seven areas of the state where the legislature had failed to account for growth in the black proportion of the population.

In East Baton Rouge and several northwest parishes, Dunne concluded that the plans overconcentrated black voters to avoid creating additional black districts. In Orleans and Jefferson parishes in the New Orleans area, and also in three rural areas, Dunne found that black populations large enough for separate representation had been divided and submerged in predominantly white districts.

In response to the Justice Department's objections, Governor Buddy Roemer called a special legislative session to develop new plans. The revised plans that were approved by the Justice Department raised the number of majority-black districts from 15 to 25 in the House and from five to nine in the Senate. This fall, all black incumbents won reelection, and black candidates were elected in nine new House districts and three of the four new Senate districts.

Virginia: A Wilder Veto. In Virginia, the legislative black caucus won additional majority-black districts over opposition from an unwilling state legislature. The Virginia Senate's initial plan had only increased the number of majority-black Senate districts from two to three. After the Virginia American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the black caucus showed that five majority-black districts could be drawn, Governor L. Douglas Wilder vetoed the plan.

In response, the General Assembly adopted a revised plan, this time raising the number of such districts from two to five. This revised plan was approved by the Justice Department, becoming the only plan to be so approved in the first round of review.

At the same time, the state legislature adopted a plan that increased the number of majority-black House districts from nine to 11. The Virginia NAACP and ACLU opposed it, and it was rejected by Dunne in July. Dunne ruled that the House plan diluted black votes in the Richmond area,

(Continued on page 6)

Mr. Parker is director of the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington. In 1985-86 he was a MacArthur Foundation Distinguished Scholar at the Joint Center. He authored the award-winning book, *Black Votes Count: Political Empowerment in Mississippi After 1965* (UNC Press, 1990).

Redistricting

(Continued from page 5)

where a new majority-black district was possible. To satisfy this objection, the legislature adopted a plan raising the number of House districts to 12.

This November two black candidates, Richmond's former mayor Henry Marsh and Portsmouth city council member Louise Lucas, won election in two of the new majority-black Senate districts, raising the number of black Virginia senators from three to five. At the same time, in all three newly created black House districts, black challengers were defeated by white incumbents.

Mississippi: No Court Relief. In Mississippi, in response to pressure from the legislative black caucus and a coalition of civil rights groups and black attorneys, the legislature substantially increased the number of districts with 60 percent or more black voting-age populations in both the Senate (from 4 to 10) and the House (from 18 to 29).

But even with these gains, the black caucus's alternative redistricting plans showed that additional majority-black House districts could have been created in Jackson, in northeast Mississippi, and in Pike County. Further, black Senate districts could have been produced in east-central Mississippi along the Alabama border, in the southwest along the Mississippi River, and in the Delta area. The legislature also had minimized black votes by creating large, odd-shaped districts encompassing several counties that would make it difficult for black candidates to mount effective campaigns. In other cases, district lines were drawn to exclude politically active black precincts.

In response to criticisms from civil rights organizations and black legislators, on July 2 Dunne rejected 30 House districts and 12 Senate districts as racially discriminatory. Unlike his counterpart in Louisiana, Mississippi's governor Ray Mabus refused to call a special legislative session to resolve the Justice Department's objections. Anticipating this, black legislators and voters had filed a federal lawsuit in May, *Watkins* v. *Mabus*, seeking a court-ordered redistricting plan in time for the elections this fall.

Although numerous proposed plans that would have increased the number of majority-black districts were filed with the district court, a three-judge panel ordered this year's elections held under the pre-1991 plan despite its malapportioned districts. The court nevertheless held out the prospect of special legislative elections next year once a fair and nondiscriminatory plan has been adopted, which would require legislators who won this year to campaign again for the same offices.

In the November election for the state House of Representatives, blacks won only one additional seat: Linda Coleman, a former legal services attorney, defeated a white incumbent. Elsewhere, two black incumbents were defeated by black challengers.

Ingredients of Success

Thus far in the post-1990 Census redistricting, several pivotal factors have emerged. Coalitions among civil rights groups, minority community organizations, and black state legislators were successful in urging state legislatures to add black districts, and, when the legislatures came up short, in persuading the Justice Department to reject discriminatory districts.

The coalitions this past year mobilized legislative, technical, and legal resources better than ever before. They also were able to join forces with black legislators elected in the 1970s and 1980s who, by virtue of their seniority and numbers, now wield more legislative influence.

Advances in computer technology—along with better access to the states' own redistricting computer programs—simplified the task of drafting alternative plans. These alternative plans showed how the legislatures' plans discriminated against black voters and demonstrated that additional majority black districts could be created.

On the legal front, redistricting coalitions and their attorneys (both local civil rights attorneys and lawyers from national organizations like the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law) were assisted by the strong legal standards of the Voting Rights Act. Congress had amended the Act in 1982 to eliminate the requirement of proving that a challenged plan was adopted for a discriminatory intent, replacing that with an easier-to-prove "results" test that prohibits any redistricting which would result in discrimination. Finally, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, headed by Assistant Attorney General John Dunne, has been more vigilant in protecting minority voting rights than it was during the Reagan administration under William Bradford Reynolds.

GOP Not a Major Factor

Despite earlier widespread press reports, projected alliances between the Republican National Committee and minority groups seeking more minority districts have not emerged as a major factor. In Virginia, where the Republican Party perhaps had its greatest presence, the Republicans drafted alternative plans showing that additional majority-black districts could be created, and they filed comments with the Justice Department urging rejection of the state's House of Delegates plan. However, it is not clear that the GOP's opposition was decisive in Dunne's rejection of the plan, since it was also opposed by local chapters of the Virginia NAACP and ACLU.

The Virginia Republicans had been upset that the legislature's plan pitted 15 GOP delegates and one independent who voted with them against one another by placing them in the same districts. But this concern appears to have had little impact on the Justice Department. In rejecting the House plan, Dunne approved a revised plan that also pitted Republican legislators against each other.

In sum, the experiences of Louisiana, Virginia, and Mississippi this year show that the maximum potential for black representation has not yet been reached. To the extent that black representation continues to depend on the creation of majority-black districts, additional gains can yet be made at both the congressional and state legislative levels in states whose redistricting has yet to be finished. ■

Black Officials Open '92 Election Year

The Sixth National Policy Institute Will Focus Nation's Attention on Three Critical Issues: Health, Drugs, and Education

by Russell E. Owens

As the economy continues to sag and George Bush's approval ratings drop, his invincibility in next year's presidential election has come into question. Ultraconservative columnist and former GOP White House aide Pat Buchanan might challenge Bush in the primaries, something unthinkable just weeks ago. Presidential politics is also warming up in the nation's other major party as six Democrats have announced their candidacy. And political waters have been churned by white supremacist David Duke's thinly veiled agenda to turn the clock back on civil rights and social progress. It is in this charged political atmosphere that the Sixth National Policy Institute (SNPI), the quadrennial conference of black elected officials, will convene on January 23-25, 1992.

The meeting will be held at the Washington Hilton in Washington, D.C., and is expected to attract over 500 conferees who will have an opportunity to hear from national leaders on the 1992 presidential selection process. The timing of the Institute is propitious since SNPI will provide a unique opportunity for black elected officials to deliberate over public policy issues in a national, nonpartisan forum before the presidential primaries and conventions.

The media has focused on the growing economic crisis, the dramatic political changes in Eastern Europe, and the racial politics of David Duke's campaign for governor of Louisiana. These and other subjects have held much of the nation's attention in recent months. Nevertheless, SNPI sponsors felt strongly that the Institute must focus on the issues that are most pressing among black Americans: health, drugs, and education.

Health. The deteriorating health status of black Americans has caused the average life expectancy among blacks to actually decline from 69.7 years in 1984 to 69.4 years in 1987 (the national average is 75 years). There is a litany of health inequities between black and white Americans. Black infants are two times more likely to die in their first year than white infants. Black men have a higher risk of dying from cancer than nonblacks. The most common cause of death for black men between the ages of 15 and 34 is homicide, most often as victims of firearms. Black women are four times more likely than white women to die as homicide victims. And the rate among blacks of contracting AIDS (most commonly among drug abusers and through heterosexual transmission), is triple the rate for whites. These health problems occurring among blacks, especially those with low incomes, are exacerbated by the fact that few of them receive routine and preventive health care—too many pregnant mothers do not get prenatal care and cancers often are not detected early enough to increase the chances of survival. Black children are less likely than white children to be inoculated against measles, whooping cough, and polio. And a disproportionantly high percentage of low-income minorities are among the 37 million Americans who have *no* health insurance.

Drugs. Black communities in large cities have been on the front lines of the growing drug epidemic. The problem has been fueled by the street trade of relatively inexpensive "crack" cocaine. With the government's emphasis on enforcement instead of education and treatment, the drug epidemic has cost the society billions of dollars in law enforcement, criminal prosecutions, and incarceration. "Crack babies" have been born physically deformed and mentally damaged and are overburdening urban hospitals. And minorities in low-income neighborhoods are constantly at risk of violence at the hands of drug abusers and dealers.

Education. According to the Children's Defense Fund, in 1988, just 25 percent of the three- and four-year-olds from families with incomes of under $10,000 were enrolled in preschool programs while over half of the children from families with incomes above $35,000 attended preschool. About 27 percent of the nation's 13-year-olds cannot add, subtract, multiply, or divide whole numbers. Furthermore, over 28 percent of the students entering ninth grade in 1984 failed to graduate from high school in 1988.

The nation is not responding to the crisis in education where local funding bases are the lowest, places where the crisis is most keenly felt: inner city neighborhoods, the barrios of the Southwest, Appalachia. Most minority students attend *de facto* segregated schools where shortages of instructional materials and buildings in disrepair are common-place. Libraries and science labs, where they exist at all, are often outdated and poorly equipped.

While the Sixth National Policy Institute will not offer up any panaceas or "quick fixes," it will provide a forum for a healthy exchange among black elected officials to explore the full spectrum of policy options to address these issues. The conveners of the Institute are the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the seven national caucuses of black officials: the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Judicial Council, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Caucus of Black School Board Members. ■

Mr. Owens is the director of the National Policy Institute at the Joint Center.

Poverty

(Continued from page 4)

The Urgent Need for Reform

Traditional state welfare programs were built on two assumptions: (1) the vast majority of the population would live in stable two-parent households, and (2) the male breadwinner in a family would be employed full-time in a secure job for most of his adult life. Neither of these assumptions now holds true. Divorce and single parenthood are common today in all advanced industrial countries, and work is much more likely to be short-term, temporary, and insecure. European policymakers have begun to adjust to these social and economic realities. American policy makers have not.

We are daily made aware of the costs of failing to adopt policies that help our citizens adjust to these changes: long-term joblessness, rising child poverty, and increasing urban violence. We could continue on the path we have been following in an attempt to ignore our failings. But as Hugh Heclo, a professor of government at George Mason University, wrote in one of the papers commissioned for the study:

> ". . . down this road lies a society of separatism, where the more privileged parts have in effect seceded from the other(s). . . . Racism, a general contempt for poor people and—most powerful of all—indifference, are sweet comforts in that they make it easier for us to go through life without caring about each other. . . . [We must remember that] there is no collective security without collective justice, that tolerance is a positive commitment, not simply the absence of prejudice or indifference."

The crisis of social policy the United States is experiencing today is born not from a lack of knowledge but from a lack of moral vision and commitment. In the social and economic transformations of the past two decades, the grounding assumptions on which traditional welfare programs were built have melted away. The contours of the new institutions that will emerge to replace them are still hidden in the dawn of a new century. We must begin to peer into that future and talk together about what we want to see. ■

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Volume 19, No. 12 December 1991

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FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®

Called Anything But a Child of God

Negative Stereotyping Perpetuates Society's View of Young Black Males as the Nation's Throw-Aways Instead of an Important Resource

The Jackson Legacy

Jesse Jackson's Past Presidential Candidacy Has Broadened the Nation's Political Culture and Helped Others Win High Office

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Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Sixth Policy Institute: Serious Business

"It was the best of times. It was the worst of times." In many ways Dickens' words capture the challenges facing black elected officials today. While there are more black elected officials than ever, some in positions never before held by blacks, their collective impact on public policy is often diffused by forces beyond their control. While the national political debates all too often degenerate into campaign "sound bites" and race-baiting, public policies continue to ignore the human suffering and misery faced by increasing numbers of people, particularly African-Americans and other minorities.

It is in this environment that the Joint Center and the nation's black political leadership will convene the Sixth National Policy Institute of black elected officials January 23-25, 1992, at the front end of the Presidential selection process. This nonpartisan, educational conference will address the current political and economic climate: the recession, the national leadership vacuum, the resurgence of overt racism, and the collapse of the social "safety net." Because these domestic crises may affect the very future of the nation as a major international economic and military power, the need for renewed commitment and a major reordering of priorities is unavoidable. The issue is not whether but when. When will we begin to muster the national resolve and resources necessary to ensure future prosperity and shared opportunities?

We recognize the practical considerations and difficulties faced by elected officials and others as they set priorities for their commitments of time and resources in the conduct of their business. There are simply too many meetings and conferences that we ought to attend that we can't afford to because of conflicting time commitments and a general scarcity of resources.

Recognizing these dilemmas, the cosponsors (listed below) have decided to modify the Institute in two important ways. One is to shorten the Institute by starting it on Thursday, January 23, 1992 (instead of January 22) with a luncheon sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus. A speech by the Rev. Jesse Jackson will follow the opening plenary session. We also have reduced the registration fee for the Institute. On a first-come, first-served basis the registration fee has been slashed to $50 for black public officials and conference observers. Students with valid ID will be charged $10. New registration information and a mail-back card reflecting these changes are included in this issue of FOCUS. Participants who have pre-paid based on the old fee structure will have their excess payments refunded.

We have invited some of the best minds and most knowledgeable public and private figures to join us in confronting the difficult and complex issues that so often lock our people out of the economic and social mainstream. We hope you will join us at the Institute and that you will help sound the alarm that, for far too many Americans, this is the worst of times.

The conveners of the Institute are the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the seven national caucuses of black officials: the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Judicial Council, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Caucus of Black School Board Members.

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Called Anything But a Child of God

Negative Stereotyping Perpetuates Society's View of Young Black Males as the Nation's Throw-Aways Instead of an Important Resource

by Jewelle Taylor Gibbs

The mass media have exhibited an appalling degree of distortion, bias, and insensitivity in promoting negative stereotypes and misconceptions about young black males and in failing to present a more balanced picture of poverty, crime, drug use, and social dysfunction in America. Collectively these misconceptions and stereotypes have assumed a life of their own and have been elevated to the status of revealed truth.

What might be called "the five D's" have commonly been used to describe young black men: Deviant, Disturbed, Delinquent, Disadvantaged, and Dumb. These images reinforce the long-held views of many that young black males are somehow less than human, providing educators, politicians, and business executives with a justification to ignore their problems, dismiss their needs, and blame them for a host of ills afflicting American society.

Black youth are more likely than their white peers to be born into poverty and spend their childhood growing up in a poor family, to be "pushed out" of school by underpaid and overworked teachers, to be last-hired and first-fired by discriminatory employers, to be victims of police harassment and brutality, to be unable to support a family, and to live in an inner-city ghetto exposed to the culture of drugs and violence. These conditions are statistical realities, but they have been frequently exaggerated to create a misleading portrait of all black males.

Perpetuating false stereotypes does not come without costs. No society can afford to throw away one-fifth of its youth by denying them opportunities, warehousing them in prisons, or dooming them to permanent dependency as a quasi-caste of surplus labor. Such reactionary solutions will inevitably result in more urban decay, higher costs for welfare, more social pathology, increased racial polarization, and unendurable levels of community violence.

It is necessary to challenge these stereotypes. A more balanced view of young black males is needed, because public perceptions of this group significantly affect the public policies and programs that touch their lives. Here are some of the most damaging misconceptions and stereotypes.

We Can't Educate Them

The media foster the myth that black males are dropping out of high school in ever-increasing numbers, but the figures often cited—of 40 to 60 percent high school drop-out rates for black males—are misleading. Actually, the national high school drop-out rate for young black males has steadily decreased since 1960, and high school completion rates have improved dramatically. In 1970, only 54.8 percent of black males between the ages of 18 and 24 had completed high school, but in 1989 over 72 percent had achieved this goal.

High drop-out rates do occur, needless to say, primarily in some hypersegregated, low-income inner-city neighborhoods in major metropolitan areas. But even these ghetto rates may be inflated, because they do not take into account students who move or transfer to other schools, or those who obtain their G.E.D. high school equivalency certificates by age 24.

According to recent annual reports from the American Council on Education, not only are black males completing high school at higher rates than before but they are performing better on standardized achievement tests. These improvements have occurred in spite of the inequitable treatment received in public school systems. For example, in many urban areas black males are twice as likely as whites to be labeled mentally retarded (often erroneously), to be physically punished, or to be suspended or *pushed out* by school authorities for infractions similar to those committed by white students.

Despite the improvements in high school graduation rates and test scores, the percentage of young black males entering and graduating from college has declined since the mid-1970s, primarily due to the cutbacks in financial aid, the decrease in academic support services, and the increase in racial tensions on college campuses. Ironically, with all the budgetary constraints today, expenditures on prisons are one of the few items that federal, state, and local governments continue to increase.

Why Don't They Get Jobs?

The popular belief that many young black males are not working because they are lazy or unmotivated is cruel and false. The real reasons why unemployment rates among young black men *actively seeking work* have nearly tripled over the last 30 years are: (1) the nation's economy has shifted from primarily manufacturing and agriculture to high technology, providing fewer unskilled and semiskilled jobs for youth; (2) jobs have moved out of the industrial cities of the North and Midwest (where there are

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Dr. Gibbs, a professor in the School of Social Welfare at the University of California at Berkeley, is a visiting fellow at the Joint Center.

Black Males

(Continued from page 3)

large concentrations of blacks) and into the suburbs and Sunbelt states; (3) black youth are competing with other minority youth, immigrants, and women who are entering the labor force at accelerated rates and who are often viewed as less troublesome employees; and (4) low-income black youth in inner-cities usually do not have the transportation needed to reach jobs in the suburbs or the mobility to follow the expansion of economic opportunities in the Sunbelt and the West.

In addition, one cannot minimize the continuing problem of job discrimination, which has been amply documentated. A 1990 Urban Institute study, which followed equally qualified young adult black and white males seeking jobs in Washington, D.C., and Chicago, clearly demonstrated a pattern of employer discrimination against the black applicants. And an ABC television documentary aired last September graphically portrayed the discriminatory treatment of young black males in job interviews, apartment rentals, retail stores, and even in buying a car.

Black Males Are Lost to Drugs

The image of the black male as drug addict or drug dealer pervades the American media. This stereotype grossly misrepresents the actual incidence of drug use by black youth, and it illustrates the hypocrisy of a society that views substance abuse by blacks and whites differently. Film and television generally depict the drug problem as having a black face, but according to figures from the National Institute of Drug Abuse, whites account for 80 percent and blacks for 20 percent of overall illicit drug use. While "crack" has been widely publicized as an inner-city problem, cocaine was popularized in the 1970s as a white middle-class recreational drug, glamorized by Hollywood celebrities and purchased by Wall Street stock brokers and suburban yuppies.

Blacks Are Killing Each Other Off

Some observers have erroneously claimed that black males would live just as long as white males if homicide rates among young blacks were not so high. It is true that homicide is the leading cause of death for young black males. But the mortality rate of young black men from a number of diseases is also higher than for any other subgroup. It is surely an indictment of our nation's health care system that thousands of black males die prematurely every year from causes such as childhood asthma, diabetes, hypertension, and cardiovascular attacks.

Some of these conditions are associated with poverty or stress, others with diet or lifestyle, but practically all can be prevented or treated if detected early enough, provided that people have access to health care, good nutrition, and less stressful environments. The tragic reality is that black males in Harlem today have a shorter life expectancy than men living in rural areas of Bangladesh, one of the world's poorest countries.

Low-income black youth are more exposed than other young people to pollution, lead poisoning, unsafe schools, and violent neighborhoods. Added to these daily hazards are the recent increases in tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, and AIDS. If these same health problems were decimating the population of white males in their prime, one wonders whether our government would not be more aggressive in developing comprehensive programs of prevention, early intervention, and treatment.

Lock 'Em All Up

The theme of young black males as a criminal menace is a mainstay of popular film, TV fiction, and docudramas as well as news stories in the print and electronic media. In 1990, criminal justice authorities released the alarming statistic that nearly one of every four black males ages 20 to 29 was involved in the criminal justice system—in jail, on probation, or on parole. Although some critics have questioned the accuracy of these figures, one very important statistic has gone unnoticed in the debate: *Three of every four young adult black males are not involved in criminal behavior.* Moreover, juvenile justice experts have pointed out that black youth tend to be arrested, booked, convicted, and incarcerated at higher rates than white youth who are committing similar crimes.

The brutal beating last year of Rodney King by Los Angeles police illustrates the criminal justice system's differential treatment of young black men. They are often assumed to be guilty of an offense until proven innocent.

While white youth are often released to their parents on their first non-felony offenses, black youth are more likely to be processed through the juvenile justice system. Their detention records not only label them as delinquent but also increase the probability that their opportunities for educational and economic advancement will be substantially reduced and that they will learn more serious criminal behavior while incarcerated.

Blacks' Problems Are Unique to the U.S.

The idea that problems of young black males and their inability to assimilate into society are unique to the United States is fallacious. Recent political and ethnographic studies of Great Britain and Western Europe demonstrate that non-white and ethnic minority immigrants have high rates of poverty and that their youth exhibit patterns of social dysfunction similar to those of blacks in the United States. This is true of West Indians and Pakistanis in England, of Arabs living in France, of Indonesians in Holland, and of Turks in Germany.

As the populations of these racially and culturally distinctive minority groups have grown in Western Europe, they have inevitably become the victims of racism, classism, and nationalism at the hands of white majorities. These European brands of racism are played out against

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December 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **Candidates are lining up to run for redistricted congressional seats in Maryland and Texas.**
- **The Supreme Court will decide whether Mississippi has done enough to desegregate its university system.**
- **David Duke lost his Louisiana gubernatorial race but his '92 presidential bid may force the GOP to reexamine plans for racial political appeals next year.**
- **Across the Nation looks at Chicago Alderman Bobby Rush's challenge of congressman Charles Hayes and Carol Moseley Braun's race against U.S. Senator Alan Dixon of Illinois, 12 black candidates were elected to newly created Louisiana legislative seats, black conservative Alan Keyes will try to capture U.S. Senator Barbara Mikulski's seat, four blacks (two Republicans and two Democrats) win seats in the New Jersey state legislature, and Sylvester Turner loses his mayoral bid in Houston.**

Candidates Vie for New Majority Black Congressional Districts

In November, the Texas congressional redistricting plan became the first of the Southern plans to be approved by the Justice Department, clearing the way for a new district to be formed in the Dallas area with a majority-black voting-age population. Two majority-Hispanic seats were also created. The leading contender for the Dallas seat is two-term black Democratic State Senator **EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON** who chaired the state senate's Congressional redistricting committee and tailored the new boundaries to her liking. The district lies completely within the city limits of Dallas where blacks comprise 50 percent and Hispanics 17 percent of the population.

Johnson, 55, a nurse and proprietor of a management consulting firm, has been active in Dallas politics for nearly 20 years. From 1972 to 1977 she served in the state house of representatives, interrupting her third term to accept a position with the Carter administration as regional director of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In 1986 she became the first black and the first woman elected to the state senate from the Dallas area. Johnson may face a challenge from black Dallas County commissioner **JOHN WILEY PRICE**, who is currently standing trial on assault charges. The primary is March 3.

In the East, the Maryland legislature in October approved a majority-black congressional district that encompasses part of Prince George's and Montgomery counties, both of which border Washington, D.C. The new 4th Congressional district is 58.5 percent black and largely middle class. It comprises most of Prince George's County, which has one of the fastest-growing black populations in the nation. The 4th is the nation's first majority-black suburban district. So far, five black politicians have shown an interest in the Maryland seat.

HILDA PEMBERTON, 51, is a three-term Prince George's County council member and aggressive advocate for issues relating to youth and minority business development. Widely regarded as a consensus builder, her council colleagues elected her to chair the body in 1986, making her the first woman to hold the position. In his first bid for political office, **ALEXANDER WILLIAMS, JR.**, made history in 1986 with his election as Prince George's County states attorney—the first black person to be elected to a countywide office in that county. He quickly made his mark by prosecuting brutality cases against officers in the county police force, which had a reputation for treating black citizens inequitably. Now in his second term, Williams, 43, has established an economic crimes unit to investigate and prosecute economic, financial and ethical crimes, a homicide unit, narcotics prosecution unit and an asset forfeiture unit which files proceedings to keep the cars of customers and dealers seized in illicit drug transactions. The unit has been cited as a national model.

ALBERT B. WYNN, 40, was elected to the Maryland senate in 1986 after serving three terms in the state's house of delegates. Currently serving as deputy majority whip in the senate, he has been instrumental in drafting education, environmental, and anti-drug legislation during his career. Prince George's state delegate **NATHANIEL EXUM** has also announced his candidacy, and former state senator **TOMMIE BROADWATER, JR**., convicted of food stamp fraud in 1983 and suspended from his senate post, has expressed interest in running for the congressional seat. **JAMIN RASKIN**, a law professor at American University and an expert on the county's politics, says that Pemberton, Williams, and Wynn are the front-runners because their experience is highly regarded, they are considered to be among the most powerful officials in the county, and they have the best fundraising capabilities.

Court May Say 'Enough' on University Desegregation

When can a state be considered to have satisfied its constitutional obligation to desegregate its universities? In the U.S. Supreme Court case *United States* v. *Mabus*, heard by the Court on November 14, the plaintiffs say that obligation is not fulfilled until all traces of segregation commonplace under the previous dual system of education have been eliminated. The defendants argue, however, that the state's obligation is met once individuals have the unfettered freedom to enroll in any state school. In the spring, the Court is expected to render its decision on *Mabus*, considered one of the most important school desegregation cases since the landmark 1954 *Brown* decision.

Mississippi first desegregated its state colleges and universities in 1962 when, under federal court order, it admitted **JAMES MEREDITH** to the University of Mississippi. Thirteen years later, **JAKE AYERS, SR**., the parent of a black student attending Jackson State University, together with 22 others, sued the State of Mississippi, charging that it continued to support a dual system of higher education. As evidence they cited the differences—limited course offerings, lower funding, inferior facilities—between the state's five historically white institutions and its three historically black colleges and universities—Alcorn State, Mississippi Valley State, and Jackson State. Among the disparities cited was the state board of trustees' designation of three of the five predominantly white institutions as comprehensive universities (but none of the black ones). This classification means that the three so named white institutions are considered research universities, offer more extensive graduate and undergraduate curricula, and receive more money from the state (almost three-fourths of the $200 million allocated to the university system goes to the comprehensive universities). Consequently, Mississippi spends more per white student than per black student.

In addition, plaintiffs cited the small number of black faculty and administrators at the historically white campuses. The plaintiffs also have charged that the recent raising of standardized test scores required for admission to the comprehensive universities discriminates against blacks. A minimum ACT score of 15 out of 36 is required; only 30 percent of the state's black high school students achieve that score. Finally, they charge that physical facilities at the historically black schools are both inadequate and inferior to those at the other schools—new buildings are needed, repairs have gone neglected, and computers and laboratory facilities are antiquated.

In 1987, a U.S. District Court judge agreed with the plaintiffs that remnants of segregation were present in the state's higher education system, but he ruled the state was not obliged to do anything more than adopt good-faith nondiscriminatory policies (unlike its obligations at the elementary and secondary school level). The plaintiffs appealed that decision, joined by the United States Justice Department, to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. In 1990 that court upheld the district court's decision. The plaintiffs are now asking the Supreme Court to dismiss the lower court rulings and send the case back to the U.S. district court in Oxford to develop remedies to compensate for years of inequitable funding that have left the historically black schools at a disadvantage. The State of Mississippi argues in return that it does not operate a dual system of education but, rather, has adopted "race-neutral" admissions policies, and that students therefore are uninhibited in exercising free choice. The state also insists that it does operate recruitment efforts to increase minority representation in faculty and administration and that the disparate racial composition of the student bodies can be attributed entirely to personal choice. More than 90 percent of the state's white students today attend the historically white schools and more than 70 percent of the state's black students attend the historically black ones.

DR. LESLIE McLEMORE, director of the University Center at Jackson State University asserts that improving Mississippi's historically black schools "would give all students a greater choice, better academic programs to choose from, and provide better opportunities for integration." He adds, "The state cannot afford to abandon these institutions." The Court's decision in this case may have far-reaching implications for the nation's state-supported historically black schools. Similar cases in Alabama and Louisiana are pending in federal courts. If the courts decide against the plaintiffs, some in the higher education community fear it may lead to the unravelling of programs that benefit historically black campuses. This may mean the beginning of the end for some of the state-supported schools that are struggling financially, largely they say because of historical funding inequities. Other observers worry that the Court may rule favorably but stop short of imposing remedies. The Court may concede that a dual system exists and order measures such as eliminating program duplications in the state schools, phasing out some of the schools, or merging the state schools to achieve a unified system. Such a ruling would be opposed by supporters of black campuses because they believe such measures would dissolve those schools' historical and racial identity.

David Duke and the GOP's Racial Politics

Flexing their political muscle, black voters in Louisiana played a major role last month in electing Democrat **EDWIN EDWARDS** as the state's governor. Their energetic turnout was key to defeating former neo-Nazi and KKK Imperial Wizard, **DAVID DUKE**, a Republican. Edwards had previously served three four-year terms as governor and has been elected in 1971, 1975, and 1983. As governor, Edwards broadened spending for social programs and teachers' salaries. But his administration was tainted with scandal. In 1985 and '86, he was tried, and eventually acquitted on federal racketeering charges. Throughout his tenure, Edwards maintained very good relations with Louisiana's black community. In 1988, he was the only major white Democratic officeholder to endorse **JESSE JACKSON'S** presidential candidacy. He could always count on substantial black votes, and in the race against Duke, he received an overwhelming majority of them.

Before he was elected in 1989 to the Louisiana house of representatives—his first political office—Duke who remains to all evidence an impassioned white supremacist, had also run for President in 1988. In 1990, he challenged U.S. Senator **J. BENNETT JOHNSTON** (D-La.), and while that bid was unsuccessful, he garnered a surprisingly high 44 percent of the vote, including a majority of the white vote. In that campaign, he appealed to white's frustration over the state's depressed economy. Duke has "renounced" his (recent) past associations with the Klan and the American Nazi movement, but has continued to use racial themes and code words in his most recent campaign, notably attacking affirmative action and 'welfare' recipients. Earlier this year, he advocated requiring welfare mothers to submit to insertion of synthetic hormone implants (Norplant) under the skin as a means of long-term birth control.

The gubernatorial contest attracted substantial national media attention, forcing the Bush administration and the national Republican party to publicly clarify their positions on Duke. President Bush and his party were faced with a serious dilemma: they wanted to distance themselves from Duke, yet their own rhetoric and past campaign tactics bore undeniable similarities. The Bush campaign had employed racial politics through its "Willie Horton" television ads, and for two years (until Bush's 180-degree change of mind—days before the Louisiana election) Bush, like Duke, had opposed the recently enacted Civil Rights Act as a "quota bill." Under pressure, Bush and Republican National Committee chairman **CLAYTON YEUTTER**, denounced Duke, indicating that if they could, they would vote for his opponent. By contrast, this year's GOP candidate for governor in Mississippi, **KIRK FORDICE**, was not criticized by Bush even though Fordice was publicly saying many of the same things as Duke; for example, Fordice advocated forcing welfare mothers to work. In fact, Fordice received strong financial support from the national GOP. After the election, Vice President **DAN QUAYLE** stated that there was nothing wrong with Duke's message, only with the messenger.

Election day turnout set a record for a statewide election—77 percent. Black voters turned out at an even higher 80 percent. Edwards won an impressive 61 to 39 percent victory. Democrats strongly supported Edwards with 73 percent, Republicans gave Duke 56 percent of their vote, and independents split evenly between the two candidates. While Edwards captured 96 percent of the black vote, Duke won the white vote by 55 percent.

One important statistic from the returns was Duke's white vote broken down by religion. Louisiana is an unusual Southern state because it has a very large Roman Catholic minority (42 percent); other Southern states have very few Catholics. While Duke won the white Protestant vote by a large margin, 62 to 32 percent, he barely carried the white Catholic vote, 52 to 48 percent. Thus, Louisiana's white Catholic vote was an important factor in bringing Duke's total white votes below the pundits' predictions. Duke has made good on his threat to enter the Southern presidential primaries against Bush in 1992 and has not ruled out an independent candidacy in the general election. Duke's large margin of support among white Protestants could be an important factor in most of the Southern states where there are few Catholics. While Duke is not expected to win the Republican nomination in '92, he could cause Bush a lot of trouble by splitting off support that has been a critical part of the GOP Southern strategy since Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign.

Across The Nation

ILLINOIS: Chicago Alderman **BOBBY RUSH** is challenging four-term Congressman **CHARLES HAYES** for his congressional seat representing the overwhelmingly black 1st District, which encompasses Chicago's impoverished South Side. The two Democrats will face off in the March 17 primary. Rush, 48, is a three-term alderman who represents a ward in the district and has held several Democratic party leadership positions at the state and local levels.

Hayes was elected to Congress in 1983, succeeding **HAROLD WASHINGTON** who vacated the seat to become Chicago's first black mayor. A former union leader who started as a machine operator, Hayes worked his way through the ranks of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union to become an international vice president of the union. Since his arrival in the nation's capital, Hayes has been a vocal member of the House Education and Labor Committee, advocating greater support for education, expanded job training programs, health care for the uninsured, a minimum wage increase, and better child care support.

Rush is not considered a serious threat to Hayes this time around. Local observers view his bid as a "career move," an effort to build name recognition and position himself for a later run when Hayes, 73, retires (although the congressman has given no indication that he plans to step down soon).

In another Illinois congressional contest, Cook County Recorder of Deeds, **CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN**, 44, is challenging the state's senior U.S. senator, **ALAN J. DIXON**, in the March Democratic primary. A Harold Washington protege, Braun served as legislative floor leader for Washington during his mayoral administration. So far, she has had an impressive public career. Braun was a prosecutor in the U.S. attorney's office and served 10 years in the state house of representatives, six of them as assistant majority leader. Her current Cook County office oversees real estate matters such as credits, liens and judgements, and employs more than 300 employees with a $6 million operating budget.

Braun is highly regarded in political circles throughout Illinois and has proven her electability by winning her current office in 1988 with more than one million votes. Her name has even been mentioned as a potential mayoral candidate someday. But whether she can muster the support to defeat Dixon remains to be seen. Dixon has a campaign war chest of over one million dollars and a lot of experience winning statewide elections. Prior to his two terms in the U.S. Senate, Dixon had been elected secretary of state and state treasurer and also served in both houses of the legislature. One campaign issue Braun might capitalize on is Dixon's vote to confirm Supreme Court Justice **CLARENCE THOMAS**, a vote that angered some of the state's women's groups.

LOUISIANA: Redistricting in the Bayou State (see November FOCUS) yielded an increase of black representation in the state legislature from 20 to 32, (eight senators and 24 representatives). In the fall nonpartisan elections, 12 black candidates won newly created seats, three in the senate and nine in the house. The new members—to be sworn in January 13—include, in the senate: **DONALD R. CRAVINS** of Arnaudville; state representative and chair of the state Legislative Black Caucus **CHARLES D. JONES** of Monroe; and attorney **MARC MORIAL** of New Orleans. In the house: **DAVID ARMSTRONG** of New Orleans, a former aide to Congressman **WILLIAM JEFFERSON**; **TROY A. CARTER**, a former assistant to New Orleans Mayor **SIDNEY BARTHELEMY**, **ISRAEL B. CURTIS** of Alexandria; **KYLE M. GREEN** of Harvey, a former assistant district attorney for Jefferson Parish; **CHARLES HUDSON** of Opelousas; **WILFORD PIERRE** of Lafayette; former Shreveport mayoral candidate **CUTHBERT O. SIMPKINS**; **SHARON WESTON** of Baton Rouge; and Grambling attorney and former assistant district attorney **PINKIE C. WILKERSON**.

MARYLAND: Black Republican **ALAN KEYES** has launched a second bid to become a United States senator by throwing his hat in the ring for his party's March 3 primary. If he succeeds in fending off the seven other announced Republican contenders, he will face the state's junior senator, Democrat **BARBARA MIKULSKI**, in the general election. In 1988 Keyes received 38 percent of the vote in his unsuccessful challenge against Democratic Senator **PAUL SARBANES**.

Keyes, 41, is a self-proclaimed conservative, heads Citizens Against Government Waste, an organization that advocates lower taxes. He has never held elective office but was assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs and ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council in the Reagan administration. He is stumping for lower taxes and less government.

NEW JERSEY: Black representation in the Garden State's house increased by four in the November election: Democrats **ROBERT BROWN** of Orange Township and **GERALD B. GREEN** of Elizabeth, and Republicans **PRISCILLA B. ANDERSON** of Willingboro and **THOMAS SMITH, JR.**, of Asbury Park. Anderson, Brown, and Smith are currently mayors of their towns and under state law will not need to relinquish their mayoral seats. New Jersey allows assembly members to hold more than one elective office simultaneously because legislative positions are part-time. Anderson and Smith both defeated incumbents. Their victories helped the GOP gain control of the state legislature for the first time in 18 years.

TEXAS: Black state representative **SYLVESTER TURNER** failed in his bid to become the first black mayor of Houston. He was defeated by white businessman **ROBERT LANIER** in the December 7 runoff, 47 percent to 53 percent. (See November TL)

The Jackson Legacy

Jesse Jackson's Past Presidential Candidacy Has Broadened the Nation's Political Culture and Helped Others Win High Office

by Penn Kimball

With Jesse Jackson's announcement that he will not be a candidate for President next year, his political career seems to have entered a new phase—perhaps, at age 50, as an elder statesman. Now is an appropriate time to assess the Jackson legacy, especially the lessons learned from his 1988 presidential campaign.

Jackson's campaign in the primaries that year had an impact far beyond the nearly seven million votes he received and the 1,167 delegates pledged to him at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta. As the front-runner in six Southern states on Super Tuesday (in March when 15 Southern and border states held primaries), and finishing a close second in North Carolina and Texas, Jackson forced the nation for the first time to accept as viable the candidacy of an African-American for president.

By winning the Michigan caucuses and taking 20 percent or better of the vote in five other Northern states with small African-American populations Jackson demonstrated the power of interracial coalitions. His speech at the Democratic Convention, telecast on prime-time TV, stressed the "common ground" among Americans of every social and ethnic background and showed Jackson's charismatic appeal to voters disillusioned with politics-as-usual.

Jackson unabashedly staked out progressive positions on economic issues affecting farmers, women, industrial workers, and disadvantaged minorities—in blunt contrast to his Democratic opponents who tried to cast their party in either a "moderate" or "conservative" image. He raised the issues of health care for all Americans and corporate responsibility for the loss of U.S. jobs to overseas plants. And his insistent campaign for controlling drugs elevated the problem on the nation's political agenda.

Borrowing from these themes helped win victories in 1990 for Ann Richards in the Texas gubernatorial race and for Paul Wellstone, Jackson's Minnesota campaign chairman, in that state's U.S. Senate contest. Wellstone defeated the only incumbent to lose a senate seat that year. In 1991, Harris Wofford applied Jackson's themes in his upset U.S. Senate win over Richard Thornburgh in Pennsylvania.

In the long run, Jesse Jackson's 1988 campaign for the presidency had a profound effect—directly and indirectly—on the future of African-Americans in high office:

- Ronald Brown, Jackson's floor manager at the Atlanta convention, later became the first African-American to chair the Democratic National Committee.
- Once Jackson carried New York City in the April 1988 presidential primary, the feasibility of a black candidate for mayor had been documented. In 1989, David Dinkins, co-chairman earlier of Jackson's New York campaign, entered the mayoral race, unseated incumbent Ed Koch in the Democratic primary, and went on to win.
- In Virginia, L. Douglas Wilder built on the electoral infrastructure put in place by Jackson the year before, while fashioning himself as a moderate Democrat who happened to be black. Distancing himself from the controversial Jackson personality, Wilder enjoyed the benefits of two worlds and carried the Old Dominion by a razor-thin margin to become the nation's first elected black governor.
- Jackson's campaigns enlarged the number of active African-American voters. In 1986, these voters provided winning margins for four Southern Democratic candidates for the U.S. Senate. In 1991, black voters again provided the critical margin to defeat David Duke, the white supremacist Republican candidate for governor of Louisiana.

Despite Jackson's impact on American politics, this country has a long way to go before African-Americans can compete for high office on a level playing field. As Thomas Pettigrew and Denise Alston documented in their 1988 Joint Center study, *Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor*, race "serves as a political lightning rod that attracts political energy whether the candidates intend to or not."

For all his Rainbow efforts, Jackson won less than 10 percent of the white vote in the states of the Old Confederacy. He did best among white voters in states with small populations of African-Americans and thus fewer tensions over neighborhood housing, schools, and dwindling job markets. Jackson's own "Hymietown" remarks in 1984 cost him dearly among Jews four years later, as did his one-time association with Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. During the April 5 Wisconsin primary, at the highwater mark of his 1988 campaign, Jackson drew large audiences of seemingly friendly white listeners, but on polling day in this historically liberal state nearly three out of four whites voted for somebody else.

Whatever his personal future, Jackson's ability to force the nation to take him seriously as a presidential candidate has expanded our national democratic process. His campaign for the White House has very likely "kept hope alive" until a more tolerant voting public is ready to elect an African-American as president of the United States. ■

Editor's Note: The next issue of FOCUS will initiate our special coverage of the 1992 presidential candidacy of Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder.

This article is adapted from the book by Dr. Kimball *"Keep Hope Alive!"–Super Tuesday and Jesse Jackson's 1988 Campaign for the Presidency*, forthcoming in January from the Joint Center Press.

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Black Males

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backgrounds of economic competition, social tensions, and cultural clashes. Similarly, after 370 years of ancestral settlement in this country, even middle-class blacks have not been fully assimilated due to the deep-seated racial antagonisms that have served to justify and maintain racially separate schools, jobs, and housing.

The Status Quo Is Costly

In order to change the stereotypes about young black males, it will be necessary to change the conditions of their lives and reduce the poverty of their families. Government at all levels must stimulate the economy to create meaningful job opportunities for youth, rebuild and rehabilitate our inner cities to create viable communities, and provide the leadership to resolve the racial and social class tensions that threaten the stability and security of this nation. All Americans should be guaranteed the right to decent housing and affordable health care, the availability of safe and effective schools, and the opportunity for productive roles in the labor force.

Our society will pay a heavy cost if it fails to improve the quality of life for its young black citizens. Demographic trends clearly show that by the year 2000, blacks and other non-white youth will constitute at least one-third of the young adult entrants to the labor force. Educators, economists, and business leaders are beginning to realize the enormous impact this changing population will have on the economy.

By the beginning of the 21st century, if black males and other minority youth do not represent a healthy and well-educated segment of the society able to perform the technical, skilled, and professional jobs of the future, this country will surely lose its competitive edge to the industrialized nations of Europe and Asia. Moreover, if the gap between rich whites and poor non-whites continues to grow, the American economy will be further burdened by the escalating costs of unemployment, welfare dependency, crime, and massive social problems. ■

A similar article, "10 myths about young black males," by Dr. Gibbs was published in the "Focus" section of The Boston Globe on November 17, 1991.

Jesse Jackson to Speak at National Policy Institute

The Sixth National Policy Institute—the quadrennial conference of black elected officials—will convene in Washington, D.C., on January 23 to 25, 1992 at the Washington Hilton Hotel and Towers. The cosponsors of the Institute are the seven national caucuses of black officials and the Joint Center.

The first plenary session of the Institute on Thursday the 23rd will feature the Rev. Jesse Jackson who will discuss what African-Americans should expect from the presidential candidates. The Institute will also include concurrent workshops on education, health care, the drug problem, and economic development, a Friday breakfast seminar addressing black women in leadership roles, a luncheon sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus, and a Friday luncheon will focus on issues confronting black college students. The Institute will wrap up with a strategy session on the '92 elections.

The registration fee has been slashed to $50.00 for participants. A return card is included in this issue of *FOCUS*. For more information about the Institute, contact Rena Jarrett, NPI Program Associate, The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004.

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Volume 20, No. 1 January 1992

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The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

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Poverty, Politics, and Ecology in Africa

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Will Term Limits Help?

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Perspective

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National Health Care: Where Does It Hurt?

In national politics, 1992 promises to be the year of the Great American Health Care Debate. It also is the year the Joint Center launches a new program to make sure that the voices and views of black Americans are heard and, hopefully, heeded in this debate.

Even before the issue took center stage in political debate, the health care crisis had been seized upon by policymakers because it is so central to America's economic future. For the U.S. to compete on the world market, it must bring out the best in all of its workers. And, as the Department of Health and Human Services reported in its study, "Healthy People 2000: National Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Objectives," that means improving the health of all Americans.

To achieve this goal, the nation must improve the health of those most at risk of illness and injury, particularly poor people and members of racial and ethnic minorities. And that will require coming to grips with the health care crisis among black Americans.

At every stage in the life cycle, blacks tend to suffer more severe health problems than other Americans. These problems can be traced to lack of access to medical services and also to health-threatening lifestyles that, in turn, can be traced to a lack of both health care and health education. Approximately one-fifth of all black Americans do not have health insurance, compared to about 15 percent among the entire population. In predominantly black inner cities there is a shortage of doctors; many practitioners are unwilling to treat people whose only insurance is Medicaid and precious few are willing to treat those with no insurance at all. Without regular medical consultations, blacks are more likely to make lifestyle decisions that damage their health, from poor nutrition, smoking, and substance abuse to the failure to treat small problems before they become big ones.

The great national debate over health care will provide an opportunity to address these problems, but only if black concerns are anticipated, analyzed, and articulated. Unfortunately, with notable exceptions such as Health and Human Services Secretary Dr. Louis Sullivan, blacks are not playing prominent roles in shaping and implementing national health policy. To fill this gap in black involvement—and to make sure that black concerns are studied and addressed—the Joint Center is beginning a major five-year health care initiative.

The Center's program will focus on black leadership development in the health policy arena and will establish a basis for coalition building in the health policy field. It is envisioned as a developmental initiative that will require five years to be fully operational; during the first several years, however, the following objectives will be addressed:

- to provide information on the health status of black Americans, and to analyze the impacts on blacks of current and projected health policies;
- to identify and evaluate policies and selected model health care programs at all levels of government; and
- to share this research with black leaders to foster their effective participation in health care policymaking.

Our findings and recommendations will be shared with medical professionals, business leaders, policy makers at each level of government, and the public at large.

We are very grateful to Aetna Life and Casualty for making an initial grant of $100,000 to this effort, which is also encouraged and supported by the Ford, Rockefeller, and Hewlett foundations and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Affirmative Action Debate Continues

Several Participants at December Joint Center Forum Attest to the Continuing Viability of Affirmative Action While Others Disagree

by David C. Ruffin

The two-year struggle to gain passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, as well as the exploitation of the affirmative action issue to polarize voters in the recent election campaigns of incumbent Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and gubernatorial candidate David Duke of Louisiana, demonstrates that affirmative action remains controversial. On December 10, 1991, the Joint Center invited a diverse group of distinguished scholars and experts to discuss the status and viability of affirmative action as a continuing strategy for bringing minorities and women into America's social and economic mainstream.

The three selections that follow are summaries of lengthier presentations made by participants at the forum. They represent varying points of view about programs that seek to diversify the workplace. Clint Bolick of the Washington-based Institute for Justice asserts that affirmative action should be abandoned in favor of a new emphasis by government on education and job training. And although Harvard law professor Christopher Edley, Jr., maintains that the legal basis for affirmative action is well grounded in congressional statutes and Supreme Court precedents, Smith College professor Fletcher A. Blanchard insists that efforts to implement affirmative action are commonly and readily resisted.

The forum was part of the Joint Center's two-year study of group-sensitive remedies, funded by the Ford Foundation, and was organized by research associate Lynda Edwards, who is writing a monograph on affirmative action and editing a transcript of the conference proceedings.

Affirmative Action Is Legal and Effective

Christopher Edley Jr., Professor, Harvard Law School

The Congress, in its recent debates on civil rights issues, has made it clear from both sides of the aisle that flexible affirmative action is generally acceptable, both in the voluntary context and in the remedial context. Voluntary affirmative action, as a result of current Supreme Court doctrine and the current sentiment of Congress, does not violate either Title VII or the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. (Admittedly some members of the High Court—probably including Clarence Thomas—disagree with these earlier decisions.) Quotas are quite different from affirmative action in that they are more legally problematic, but even quotas have been found permissible by the courts in certain remedial contexts.

So much for the legal condition of affirmative action. What about its empirical standing? Both statistical and anecdotal evidence suggest that affirmative action continues to be effective in increasing diversity in the workplace. It also seems to be effective not just for elites or the middle class but for blue-collar and entry-level workers as well. Indeed, some studies suggest that it is more effective for entry-level, low-skilled workers. The problem, of course, is that those jobs are disappearing from the economy. While affirmative action has resulted in important success and progress, it is not a complete answer to the problem of minorities' economic and social integration into the economy and workplace.

Yet the research and evidence that affirmative action has contributed to economic integration will do little to change public attitudes and political perceptions in some quarters about the value of this or other race-based policies. Focusing on the political condition of affirmative action, it is popular to suggest that we should substitute an emphasis on poverty for an emphasis on race in designing remedial measures, including affirmative action. This was suggested by U.S. Department of Education assistant secretary Michael Williams some months ago.

There are at least four important difficulties with the poverty-not-race approach. First, there are more poor white people than there are poor minorities (according to the U.S. Census Bureau, 22.3 million white Americans lived below the poverty line in 1990 compared with 9.8 million black citizens and 6.6 million Hispanics). So while it's true that simply as an empirical matter blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately represented in the poverty population (10.7 percent of whites were poor in 1990 while 31.9 percent of blacks and 28.1 percent of Hispanics were), if we're going to open up scholarship and job opportunities without regard to color and solely on the basis of economic disadvantage we can expect a net reduction in the amount of opportunity afforded to minorities. If we are interested specifically in closing the gap between, say, whites and blacks, in addition to redistributive economic goals, the objective of closing that color gap will be compromised by losing attention to race. What's at stake is a dilution of the effort to eliminate the correlation we observe between pigment and opportunity.

Second, it would be an error to disregard race and focus instead on economic disadvantage alone, because race remains the salient social category. Even if we focus on

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Mr. Ruffin is the editor of FOCUS.

Affirmative Action

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economic disadvantage, it is still the case that poor blacks will be discriminated against in relative terms—that is to say, relative to poor whites. Because race continues to be a salient social category, the poor who are black, from panhandlers to job applicants, will fare less well than the poor who are white.

Third, there should not be an either/or choice between race-based remedies and economic redistribution. We need both redistribution and affirmative action. It is important for proponents of affirmative action to embrace the goal of economic redistribution, as well as the objective of affirmative action based on economic disadvantage. But it is equally important to say that as we embrace the goal of affirmative action for the economically disadvantaged we must not abandon the goal of closing the color gap.

Fourth, although we have a crisis in persuasion, now is not the time to make tactical concessions. Now is not the time to say affirmative action and race-based remedies are politically unpopular and that therefore we will abandon them. Now is not the time to say that because President Bush and others inveigh against "quotas" we must retreat from moderate and sensible approaches to affirmative action. Quite the contrary. Now is the time for courage in our convictions, even as we learn from our experience.

Replace Race-Based Remedies With Better Education

Clint Bolick, Vice President and Director of Litigation, Institute for Justice, Washington, D.C.

I think we need to ask ourselves what we're after. Is our goal to secure the fundamental rights that we all possess as Americans, or is it to seek redistribution of those rights? Is our goal to empower disadvantaged individuals to control their own destinies as they see fit, or is it to substitute our judgments for theirs through elitist social engineering programs? The answer to these questions will determine whether all Americans, rich or poor, black and white, will one day soon finally share in the American dream. I do not care here to debate whether affirmative action in the past, as it has evolved, succeeded or failed. I do know that the enforcement of our nation's civil rights laws has opened the doors of opportunity for millions of Americans who were previously excluded. And I know that enforcement must continue. But I also know that affirmative action today does not have much real-world relevancy to tens of millions in the urban underclass.

That is why I opposed the legislation [Civil Rights Act of 1991] recently passed by Congress, for it established for the first time a legal presumption that any time racial groups experience significantly different outcomes in employment processes, the explanation is discrimination. That may have been a valid presumption at one time, but certainly it is not true today.

Don't misunderstand me. I am not saying that employers don't discriminate anymore. But what we're talking about in this context are cases in which discrimination is proven not by demonstrating that similarly situated people are treated differently—the legislation did not speak to that aspect of employment discrimination—but rather cases proven on the basis of different outcomes for different groups. The fact is that if an employer today adopts a high school diploma requirement or uses tests or even screens out applicants on the basis of conviction records, those standards will disproportionately affect members of minority groups. Are those standards discriminatory? Usually not. On the contrary, they are bare minimums for a productive, competitive society.

They are the minimum standards for success in our society, and they must be. The real explanation lies not in discrimination by particular employers in those situations, as this law erroneously presumes, but in an abysmal education system, crime, a debilitating cycle of dependency, isolation from the mainstream culture, disintegration of the family and so on. The point that I am making is one that the thoughtful columnist William Raspberry has made repeatedly: that if discrimination ended magically tomorrow, sadly the world would not necessarily look a heck of a lot different, for millions of disadvantaged Americans lack even the most basic skills, mobility, and experience necessary to take advantage of job opportunities in a completely nondiscriminatory environment. If ever we are going to escape this conundrum, both conservatives and liberals have got to face some cold, hard realities.

Conservatives need to get over their fixation that racial quotas are somehow the crucial civil rights issue of our era and acknowledge once and for all that there are many in our society who lack access to the most basic opportunities that are every American's birthright. For their part, liberals need to get over their addiction to race-based policies which divide Americans along racial lines, give fuel to demagogues like David Duke, and don't help those who need help the most.

Ironically, the point of confluence may lie in affirmative action itself, retooled to address the realities of the 1990s—based not on race, but designed instead to give disadvantaged people the tools to take advantage of opportunities: basic skills training, literacy training, day care, mentoring, transportation of inner city residents to suburban jobs, public school partnerships, upward mobility training.

We need efforts directed at eliminating the real barriers that separate people from opportunities, geared not toward redistributing opportunities but creating them, not in lowering standards but in helping more people satisfy those standards—action that is truly affirmative.

Resistance to Affirmative Action Continues

Fletcher A. Blanchard, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, Smith College

The policy of affirmative action remains today the key element of strategies that will promote the inclusion of members of those groups that have been excluded from

(Continued on the back page)

January 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- In his first civil rights case, Associate Justice Clarence Thomas sides with the Supreme Court majority to limit voting rights.
- Black Republicans call the GOP racially biased.
- A new study warns of resegregation of the nation's schools.
- Across the Nation: Black mayors reign in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Newburgh, New York; New York State assemblywoman from Harlem named majority conference chair ; New Jersey attorney appointed to state superior court.

Clarence Thomas Votes No on Voting Rights

On January 27, the Supreme Court handed down a decision limiting the scope of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. In *Presley* v. *Etowah County Commissioners*, the Court ruled that the 1965 act does not cover local government decisions that don't directly affect voting procedures or practices.

After years of litigation, the black citizens of Alabama's Etowah and Russell counties succeeded in changing the election procedures for selecting county commissioners. As a result, in 1986, for the first time since Reconstruction, Etowah County elected one black commissioner, **LAWRENCE C. PRESLEY**, and Russell County elected two black commissioners, **ED PETER MACK** and **NATHANIEL GOSHA III**. These were very important positions, because traditionally each commissioner controlled the repair and construction of local roads in his county. However, by the time these black officials had been elected to the commissions much of that authority had been taken away.

In 1979, after a white commissioner in Russell County was indicted on charges of corruption, the commission turned authority over the local roads to a county engineer. The engineer would be supervised by the entire commission. Even though this had occurred seven years before their election, the two black commissioners argued that the change so diluted their office's traditional exercise of power that it should have been approved by the Justice Department or a federal court as required by the Voting Rights Act. In Etowah County, less than nine months after the new black commissioner took office, the majority-white commission voted to delegate control over the roads to the entire commission on the basis of majority rule. Presley argued that this change, again diluting the traditional authority of a county commissioner, was clearly racially motivated and illegal under the Voting Rights Act.

The Bush administration's Justice Department supported the black commissioners in both cases and argued that the Voting Rights Act prohibits Alabama from making any change which has a limiting effect on the power of newly elected black officials. In the 6-to-3 decision, the Supreme Court majority (which included Justice **CLARENCE THOMAS** in his first civil rights case) ruled that the "changes which affect only the distribution of power among officials are not subject to [the Voting Rights Act] because such changes have no direct relation to, or impact on, voting." In a strongly worded dissent, Justice **JOHN PAUL STEVENS**, joined by Justices **BYRON WHITE** and **HARRY BLACKMUN**, argued that "a few pages of history are far more illuminating than volumes of logic." Stevens reminded the majority that the Voting Rights Act was designed as a response to the "unremitting and ingenious defiance" of the Southern states.

A Justice Department official said it was difficult to gauge what the immediate impact of the ruling will be. However, a lawyer for the black commissioners, University of Virginia law professor **PAMELA KARLAN**, said

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the ruling gives white elected officials permission to find ways to avoid sharing power with blacks: "Just at the point at which large numbers of blacks are starting to get elected to local governing boards, the Court has created a sort of road map for local jurisdictions that want to continue to discriminate."

Black Republican Group Charges GOP With Discrimination

The Freedom Republicans, a 13-year-old independent, predominantly black organization based in New York City, has accused the national Republican Party of discrimination in the way it apportions delegates to the national presidential convention and in its rules for membership on the Republican National Committee (RNC). The 1,000-member organization contends that minority members of the party are relegated to racial and ethnic auxiliary groups that are merely "ornamental quotas" with no real power; and that under the party's current structure, minorities' population ratios will never be reflected in their representation on the party's two major organs—the RNC and the national convention.

Under the present system, only three (all from the U.S. Virgin Islands) of the 165 RNC members are black. Even the members from majority-black Washington, D.C., are all white. And at the 1988 Republican convention, black delegates were just three percent of the 2,277 total. These concerns led the Freedom Republicans to lodge a formal complaint with the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) in December to compel RNC to comply with federal anti-discrimination law—Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The FEC dismissed the complaint, claiming lack of jurisdiction, so in January the organization filed a lawsuit against the Commission in the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., where the case is now pending.

According to their attorney **FRED KELLOGG**, the plaintiffs want the FEC to establish regulations applying the provisions of Title VI to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, under which the FEC was established. The Freedom Republicans also want the FEC to withhold federal funds from the Republican Party's 1992 convention until the party fully complies with Title VI.

The group points out that the party's current structure locks minorities out of convention delegate and membership opportunities, concentrating control in the party's strongest constituency—white males. The party rules allow only three RNC members from each of the 50 states, the District of Columbia and the U.S. territories—a committeeman, a committeewoman, and the state's party chair. These three national members are elected by members of the state parties. The Republican Party also recognizes as members 16 official auxiliary groups, including four that solely represent minorities: (1) the National Black Republican Council, (2) the National Hispanic Assembly, (3) a representative of Jewish Americans, and (4) the National Republican Heritage Groups, which represent persons of Italian, Asian and Polish heritage. According to RNC officials, the auxiliary groups are ex officio members of the RNC but are not allowed to vote. The groups' chairs are chosen by the RNC chairperson.

In their suit, the Freedom Republicans suggest that in order for the GOP to comply with Title VI, its rules should reflect a "federalized structure" that would give each state a number of RNC and convention delegates equal to its electoral college vote. Under such a system, populous minority states like California would have not three RNC members but 54, Georgia would have 13, Florida 25, New York 33, Texas 32, and so forth. A federalized structure, the plaintiffs claim, would increase the probability that states with a significant minority population would elect some minority members to the RNC.

LUGENIA GORDON, president of the Freedom Republicans says the lawsuit was a last resort, that for the last 10 years her organization has "made every possible effort to address this issue by working through party channels." At the last three presidential conventions the organization has addressed the Rules Committee, requested a study of-minority representation in the party, and submitted its restructuring proposal, but to little avail. Gordon asserts that their proposal would strengthen the party by opening it to meaningful minority participation and would benefit blacks by giving them "true access to a two-party system." She adds that her organization's efforts are in keeping with Republican principles because they seek integration without installing special privileges.

The RNC's deputy press secretary, **HENRY HALL**, says the Republican National Committee will not comment on the case because it is not a party to the lawsuit. Nor, have the Freedom Republicans received any support from other minority Republican organizations. **JOSE MANUEL CASANOVA**, chairman of the Republican

National Hispanic Assembly, would not comment on the case but says that Hispanic Republicans have no complaints. "We have always been well represented in the party," says Casanova, a Cuban American. "We certainly have access and they pay attention to us," he says. **MILTON BINS**, president of the Council of 100, an independent group of black Republicans based in Washington, D.C., says discrimination does not necessarily account for low representation. He points out that the road to committee membership and delegate election is paved with participation in the party process. "We effectively lock ourselves out because we are not active in party politics," he says. Nevertheless, Kellogg, the Freedom Republicans' attorney, says the group is prepared to take the case all the way to the Supreme Court.

Study Reports a Rise in School Segregation

The Status of Desegregation: The Next Generation, a study recently released by the National School Boards Association, reports that the nation's changing demographics, coupled with court decisions to return responsibility for desegregation to local courts and school boards, opens new risks that the nation's schools will be resegregated. The 53-page report covers the 20-year period from 1968 to 1988 using data provided by the Office of Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education. The report finds that the country's changing residential patterns and demographics have left inner cities racially and economically isolated. In the wake of these changes, both racially diverse and racially segregated suburbs have emerged. Where countywide or city-suburban desegregation plans do not exist, and in areas where desegregation plans may be abolished, the report concludes, the risk of returning to segregated schools is serious.

Moreover, the report contends that the conservative court-packing of the Reagan and Bush administrations has resulted in court decisions that allow cities to forgo mandatory desegregation plans. In January 1991, the U.S. Supreme Court outlined conditions for an end of court supervision of desegregation plans in *Board of Education of Oklahoma City* v. *Dowell*. This spring the court will issue a decision in a similar case, *Pitts* v. *Freeman*, involving the large Atlanta suburb of Dekalb County. The courts' general movement toward returning desegregation responsibilities to local school boards may hasten the trend toward resegregation. Several major cities—including Dallas, Ft. Worth, Austin, and Los Angeles—have voluntarily abandoned their desegregation plans and returned partially or totally to neighborhood-limited schools. Other cities are considering similar moves.

Following are further highlights from the report's findings.

- Segregation of Hispanics increased during a period when the nation's Hispanic enrollment soared and the group grew from less than a 20th to more than a 10th of American students. In 1968, the proportion of Hispanic students attending schools with 90 to 100 percent minority enrollment was 6.6 percent; by 1988 their proportion had risen to 9.9 percent.

- Desegregation plans served black students better than Hispanic students. In 1968, 64.3 percent of black students attended schools with 90 to 100 percent minority enrollment. That number dropped to 32.1 percent by 1988, with most of the progress taking place in the South which had a desegregation level of 19.1 percent in 1968 and 43.5 percent in 1988. In the Northeast the desegregation level actually worsened, from 33.2 percent in 1968 to 22.7 percent in 1988.

- In 1968, black students in the South were the most segregated students in America; 20 years later, Hispanic students in the inner cities of the Northeast, West, and Midwest were the most segregated students.

- The level of total racial separation formerly evident in the South is now more characteristic outside of that region. In the 1988-89 school year, 48 percent of blacks in the Northeast and 42 percent of those in the Midwest—compared to 24 percent in the South—attended schools that were 90 to 100 percent minority. The report says desegregation has been most successful and longest lasting in the South because enforcement was strongest there.

The study concludes that desegregation is still considered important to American school systems and that policy makers must encourage maintenance (and in some cases establishment) of desegregation plans, particularly countywide and city-suburban plans. These plans, the authors argue, could be flexible and include such features as voluntary transfers, magnet schools, and limited return to neighborhood schools—options busing opponents find more appealing than transporting students.

ACROSS THE NATION

MASSACHUSETTS: Forty-year-old black attorney **KENNETH E. REEVES** was chosen in November by his eight city council colleagues—all of them white—to become mayor of Cambridge. A Democrat serving his second term on the council, Reeves is the first black to hold the mayor's position. As mayor he will also serve as head of the school committee. Since his council tenure began in 1990, Reeves has been a vigorous supporter of rent control, serving on the rent control subcommittee. A graduate of Harvard and the University of Michigan Law School, he has an extensive record of community service and grassroots activity that includes founding a weekend mentoring program for young black boys. Cambridge, located across the Charles river from Boston, has a black population of roughly 15 percent.

NEW JERSEY: Democratic Governor **JIM FLORIO** appointed Republican attorney **TRAVIS L. FRANCIS** in December to become the first black superior court judge in Middlesex County (New Brunswick). Francis, 43, was sworn in on the birthdate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His initial term of office is seven years; after that he can serve until the age of 70 if he is reappointed. Prior to assuming the judgeship, Francis worked in private law practice, as state public defender, and as a trial attorney for several insurance agencies.

NEW YORK: Drawing on support from a strong black and Hispanic coalition, Democrat **AUDREY CAREY** was elected in November as mayor of Newburgh, a small city of 26,000 with a 53 percent minority population. Located in upstate New York, Newburgh is about 50 miles north of New York City. A nurse for a local high school, Carey served three years on the city council and made two unsuccessful bids for mayor in 1983 and 1987. This time around, she defeated her closest competitor by 508 votes in a four-way contest. Her November election marked the first time a woman has been elected mayor anywhere in the state and the first time a black person was elected mayor of the city.

In the state assembly, **GERALDINE L. DANIELS**, 59, was appointed chair of the New York State Assembly's majority conference in January by assembly speaker **SAUL WEPRIN**. A Democrat who represents Harlem's 70th assembly district, Daniels is the first woman in the history of the state to be named to this position, which requires her to preside over party caucus meetings and gather support for the party's legislative agenda. Now serving her 12th term in the assembly, Daniels has chaired the majority steering committee and the legislative women's caucus and served as vice chair of the assembly's Black and Puerto Rican Caucus. A strong proponent of health issues, Daniels has sponsored legislation to expand funding for the state's preventive health care programs and to increase Supplemental Security Income benefits for senior citizens. She also sponsored a measure to rename the Harlem State Office Building after black former congressman **ADAM CLAYTON POWELL**.

OHIO: Cincinnati attorney **DWIGHT TILLERY**, a Democrat, became the city's first black mayor elected directly by the voters on November 5 by besting a field of 26 candidates in the city council race. Under the city charter, the top vote-getter in the city council race assumes the position of mayor. Tillery, a 43-year-old native son, won a decisive 52,020 votes, leaving even the incumbent **DAVID MANN** as the third-largest vote getter. A former city solicitor, law professor, and senior assistant attorney general for the state of Ohio, Tillery will preside over the nine-member council and the city—which is 38 percent black—for the next two years. His priorities include the establishment of a children's commission to monitor the quality of life of the city's juvenile population, programs to rehabilitate abandoned housing, and neighborhood economic development. The city's first black mayor, who was appointed by his city council peers, was **THEODORE M. BERRY**, who served from 1972 to 1975.

REDISTRICTING UPDATE: When the 103rd Congress convenes next January, seven to 10 additional black members are expected to enter the U.S. House of Representatives. They will come from newly drawn majority-black districts, mainly in Southern states.

As a result of reapportionment after the 1990 census, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia have already created new districts that are likely to send blacks to Congress (for details about Maryland and Texas, see the December 1991 TrendLetter). Three of these states (Georgia, Texas, and Virginia) have each added at least one new seat to their congressional delegations. The addition of these seats has made it easier for state legislators to form districts with majority-black populations.

North Carolina has drawn two majority-black districts: one is mostly rural and located largely in the Northeast corner of the state; the other is nicknamed "I-85," the interstate highway that connects the three major cities of Durham, Greensboro, and Charlotte that lie within its boundaries. The majority-black district in Virginia runs from Richmond to the Tidewater area on the Atlantic coast. No black person has represented North Carolina or Virginia since Reconstruction. Georgia's plan, which would provide a second majority-black district in the southern part of the state, was rejected by the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division in accord with its authority under the Voting Rights Act. The Civil Rights Division determined that the plan would have a discriminatory effect on black voters.

Poverty, Politics, and Ecology in Africa

Expanding Deserts, Deforestation for Cash, and Imported Toxic Waste Combine With War and Poverty to Threaten the African Environment

by Paul Ruffins and Marsha Coleman-Adebayo

The African continent contains some of the world's largest and most diverse ecosystems, including dense forests, coastal wetlands, vast inland lakes, and savannah grasslands all teeming with countless plant and animal species. Nevertheless, every African state must confront some of the world's most pressing environmental challenges. These challenges can be grouped into five large categories: war; toxic waste dumping; desertification; soil erosion and deforestation; and poaching and other human-vs.-wildlife conservation conflicts.

Unlike the West, where environmental problems largely stem from affluence and overconsumption—too many cars, consumers discarding too much solid waste, and suburban sprawl replacing forests and farmlands—in Africa the source of environmental problems lies in poverty, compounded sometimes by war. In South Africa these poverty-based problems combine with Western-style industrial and consumer pollution that have not yet become serious in the continent's less developed nations.

Although the edges of the Sahara Desert contain fragile ecosystems, nomadic and pastoral peoples have managed to live there successfully for thousands of years. According to *Greenwar*, published in 1991 by the Panos Institute (an international environmental group with offices in Washington, D.C.), the ecological efficiency of desert cattle raising can often be as great or greater than the intensive farming of industrialized countries. The animals convert sparse vegetation into meat and milk and provide wool and hides, and the manure left behind by the herds is an important source of fertilizer.

However, over the past three decades the traditional balance among people, plants, and animals living on the desert's edge has been disrupted, with severe environmental consequences. Driven by a desire to increase agricultural production, many African governments have encouraged farmers to plant crops in marginal areas. These areas, however, are better suited to traditional forms of nomadic or pastoral life where cattle have grazed in different places each year or season to make the best use of scant or unpredictable rainfall.

Within the vast Sudano/Sahelian region along the edges of the Sahara—a territory that extends from West Africa to Ethiopia and Kenya—the destruction of shrubs and trees is pervasive in almost every country. In Ethiopia, forest cover has fallen from 40 percent to less than 3 percent. In Mauritania, forests have virtually disappeared. The United Nations Sudano/Sahelian Office (UNSO) reports that due to the logging and export of hardwoods to generate currency for foreign exchange, the climatically critical forests of West Africa are disappearing at a rate of five per cent a year.

War has also played a major role in the harmful expansion of African desert areas. The warfare in Chad, Libya, the Sudan, and other parts of Africa has contributed to the degradation of the environment by creating hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions, of refugees. The high demand for food and firewood created by the refugees and their livestock crowded into small areas quickly strips the land of crops and vegetation. The thin layer of topsoil is destroyed and the desert spreads.

War also destroys wildlife and the environment directly. In Angola, one of the ways Jonas Savimbi's rebel forces, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, reportedly sustained themselves was by poaching elephants and selling the ivory through South African sources. In Eritrea many of the forests were deliberately destroyed by Ethiopian government troops trying to deny shelter to rebel forces.

Hazardous Refuse From Teeming Shores

Of all the ecological threats to Africa, one of the most pernicious is the legal and illegal dumping of hazardous wastes from overseas. According to reports by TransAfrica (the African-American foreign affairs lobby) and Greenpeace (an international grass-roots environmental organization), at least nine African nations—Benin, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea Bissau, Guinea (Conakry), Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and Zimbabwe—have already been used as repositories of dangerous waste materials from the United States and Europe.

Ironically, European and American companies are exporting their toxic wastes because their own governments have passed stringent disposal regulations to help clean up the domestic environment. The cost of disposing of toxic wastes in legitimate, government-approved facilities in the United States and Europe can exceed $2,500 a ton, causing companies to search for cheaper disposal sites elsewhere.

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Mr. Ruffins, former editor for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, serves on the board of directors of the Center for Energy, Commerce, and the Environment, an African-American environmental group in Washington, D.C. Dr. Coleman-Adebayo is an environmental scientist who has extensive experience in African ecological issues.

Africa

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Some African states, facing widespread poverty and massive foreign debt, have succumbed to the economic pressure to import waste.

In the mid-1980s, Benin signed contracts to accept industrial waste containing asbestos and cyanide. In February of 1988, Guinea-Bissau signed a five-year contract to accept 15 million tons of European industrial waste in exchange for $120 million a year, an amount nearly equal to that nation's gross national product of $150 million.

In some instances, toxic waste has been illegally dumped in African countries because local authorities were bribed, deceived, or lacked the technical expertise to accurately assess the toxicity of the imported material. One Norwegian firm dumped 15,000 tons of "raw material for bricks" on a resort island owned by Guinea. After trees and plants there started dying, an investigation revealed that the material was really incinerator ash originally from Philadelphia containing lead and other heavy metals. An Italian firm deposited 10,000 steel drums in an empty lot in the small Nigerian town of Koko. Reportedly the company paid $100 a month to rent the lot and hired workers at $2.50 a day to unload the drums, which were later found to contain toxic and nuclear wastes.

Fortunately, waste dumping is an environmental issue that will probably get better in Africa rather than worse. By and large, local reports of dumping have been met with outrage. In 1988, the Organization of African Unity passed a resolution unanimously asking African nations to cancel any agreements to import nuclear or hazardous waste. Nigeria, which has made such dumping a crime punishable by death, called a special summit of West African states which resulted in the creation of a program called Dumpwatch to monitor the situation. In addition, the European Common market has adopted measures to control the shipment of certain kinds of wastes.

South Africa: A Billion Miles of Smog

As Africa's most highly industrialized country, where most whites enjoy a standard of living close to that of the United States, South Africa has many of the environmental problems experienced by wealthy nations. With high per capita automobile ownership, South African citizens are plagued by urban smog. In addition, the processing of the country's mineral riches of gold, diamonds, coal, and chrome requires large amounts of water and harsh chemicals such as sulfuric acid and cyanide, which generate toxic waste products that leach into the soil and water.

South Africa's system of apartheid has caused a combination of unique ecological disasters. Since the country's economy has been on a war footing for almost two decades, laws established to protect the environment are simply not enforced. This has produced a level of air and water pollution as bad as that found in Russia and Eastern European countries, where desperate governments promoted industry regardless of the environmental consequences.

South Africa's economic isolation has also made it willing to trade its environmental interests for foreign investment. It is one of the few industrialized countries willing to import toxic wastes. In the June 1990 issue of *Greenpeace* magazine, Judy Christrup describes how Britain's Thor Chemical company operates "what it claims is the world's largest mercury reprocessing facility" on the edge of the so-called Zulu homeland in the Natal province. When Greenpeace took sediment samples from the Mngeweni River near the plant, they found mercury contamination at 8,800 times the levels deemed acceptable by the United States' Environmental Protection Agency. High levels of mercury in the soil and water can cause birth defects and neurological damage.

Moreover, the apartheid policy of residential segregation annually forces millions of black South Africans to travel billions of cumulative miles between their jobs and the black townships or so-called homelands, creating unnecessary air pollution and wasting fuel. And ever since the 1913 Land Act, which separated the races by moving more than half of the nation's 23 million black citizens onto 13 percent of the country's worst land, the black population has suffered the same problems commonly found in densely populated refugee camps in drought-stricken areas of the Sahel. According to Max Sisulu of the African National Congress, "over-grazing, soil erosion, and serious land degradation in the so-called homelands. . . constitute the inevitable destructive consequences of apartheid."

Solutions Lie in Peace and Development

Many successful conservation programs are being instituted across Africa, ranging from replanting deserts with drought-resistant trees like mesquite, to making charcoal briquettes from peanut shells rather than trees, to designing more energy-efficient clay stoves that can cut firewood consumption in half.

Supporting relief and wildlife conservation organizations can help promote these efforts. But since most of Africa's environmental problems result from a combination of war, poverty, and government policies, perhaps the most important thing that can be done is to address these issues through national programs that promote civil stability and economic development.

Some of the following measures would also help solve many of the environmental problems facing poor nations not only in Africa, but in Asia and South America as well: Pressure should be placed on the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to provide debt relief to poor countries and to consider the environmental impact of the development projects they fund. Legislation should be passed banning the export of U.S. and European toxic wastes. Continued pressure should be maintained on South Africa to dismantle apartheid. Peace should be promoted by restricting the international arms trade and strengthening the U.N. and regional bodies committed to resolving conflicts without bloodshed. ■

Will Term Limits Help?

The So-Called Reform Movement to Cap Terms Is Unlikely to Reduce Corruption But Could Limit Black Political Advancement

by David A. Bositis

Across the country, a new rallying cry is being heard: term limitation. The promoters of this new form of enforced retirement for public officials charge that capping terms of service is the way to rid government of corruption and the undue influence of special interests. The movement has won important early victories in California and Colorado and in the cities of Dallas, Houston, and New Orleans. Current efforts to limit U.S. House terms to six or eight years and Senate terms to 12 years are underway in nine states. And groups calling for term limits at the congressional, state, and local levels are forming throughout the country.

Unfortunately, this movement, which professes to aim at cleaning up government, is in fact a partisan effort to shift legislative power from one party to the other. Moreover, term limits could impede the ability of black Americans to participate in the political process. There are three myths associated with term limitations that bear examination.

Myth #1: The term limitation movement is a bipartisan movement. Less a reform movement and more an effort to shift political fortunes, the term limitation movement is almost completely led and supported by the Republican party and conservative organizations.

The GOP is promoting term limits principally because it has failed to elect majorities to legislative bodies. Democrats hold strong majorities in both houses of Congress and they control both legislative houses in 29 states (compared with six states for the GOP) and split control of the remaining states. Term limits would generally benefit the GOP by removing incumbent Democrats from office, opening new opportunities for GOP candidates to win seats.

Myth #2: Incumbency creates so powerful an edge that challengers cannot prevail. Misconceptions about the power of incumbency are fueled by reporting on congressional elections that downplays the actual turnover of legislators. It is often noted, for example, that in 1990, 96 percent of the members of Congress seeking reelection succeeded. What these reports usually fail to make clear is that in each congressional election since 1980, an average of 31 House members and five senators retired, leaving seats open to new candidates. The median term of service for U.S. senators today is only 11 years, while House members serve a median of just 10 years.

Myth #3: Term limits are more democratic and would make government more accountable. Actually, the reverse is true. Term limits would shift greater power to two groups that owe little accountability to the public: legislative staff and interest groups. At the outset, most fledgling legislators rely heavily upon staff members to digest the details of legislative proposals and help them master the ins and outs of government procedures. If term limits became law, by the time officials were able to mold their staffs to reflect their own priorities and personal styles they would be swept out of office by the revolving door. Staff, who are unaccountable to voters, would gain much more power. By the same token, interest groups—with their professional lobbyists, mastery of information, and institutional expertise—would more readily influence and even manipulate the perennial freshmen officeholders.

Limits Would Reduce Black Influence. Term limits threaten black political advancement. Limits would undermine the progress black legislators and city council members have made during the past two decades by wiping away the valuable experience and seniority they have gained. Through their seniority, black state legislators have risen to chair more than 100 committees and subcommittees. Seniority has yielded the same results on city and county councils and other local bodies. Term limits would sweep out of office the entire cadre of the most experienced, ablest black elected officials, depriving their constituents of their leadership and hard-won influence.

Moreover, if term limits were instituted for various state and local bodies, the seniority system, which has been the basis for organizing and assigning leadership within those bodies, may no longer be relevant. Leaders and committee chairs would most likely be selected in party caucuses, making it more difficult for outnumbered black elected officials to attain higher levels of influence. One consequence would be an overall reduction in the responsiveness of the governing bodies to minority communities.

Even if it were not the case that term limits would weaken the status of black elected officials, term limits would still fail to achieve their own stated objective of curbing corruption. There is no evidence that officials who held office for shorter periods would not take up corrupt and dishonest practices simply because their terms were limited. Furthermore, since term limits deny voters the right to keep in office those individuals they are satisfied with, they contravene popular will, offering not more but less democracy. After all, under the present system American voters have an opportunity to limit the term of any official they don't like—by voting against him (or her) when the politician comes up for reelection and by encouraging others to do the same. ■

Dr. Bositis is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.

Affirmative Action

(Continued from page 4)

the major institutions of American life for centuries. No one has offered an effective alternative to the broad call for all manner of positive action to eliminate discrimination that the policy of affirmative action invites. We must demand that the critics of affirmative action present the full details of the alternative strategies with which they would replace it.

Some of the formal features of affirmative action are crucial to its past accomplishments and to its promise for future success. For example, record keeping is critical. No one will notice the patterns of systematic discrimination unless the data are collected, analyzed, and monitored regularly. Similarly, goals and timetables are critical because they provide a basis for evaluating the progress of an organization toward achieving a fair and inclusive workplace.

Four of the prominent contemporary barriers to full participation of all members of American society are these:

1. Current patterns of racial segregation in housing, employment, and education remain a significant barrier to the achievement of high rates of inclusion in the workplace. The friends that we make in our largely homogenous neighborhoods and classrooms are the ones we talk to about employment opportunities. As the research indicates, employers who rely on informal, word-of-mouth procedures for attracting job candidates and hiring them tend to perpetuate homogenous workplaces, not because they necessarily intend to, but because the information networks that reach out from their places of employment tend to extend at much higher rates to others of the same race or ethnicity or gender as those already working there.

2. There has been weak national leadership. Over the last decade and a half, few political, civic, religious, or educational leaders have publicly shown their commitment to civil rights and equality of opportunity. Few have spoken out to condemn bigotry. Few have urged redoubled efforts toward achieving these ends. This leadership is important not only because these are the people that control the resources required for the achievement of fairness in employment, but because they also influence the norms that guide the rest of us.

3. There is a widely shared belief that affirmative action is exclusively concerned with historical wrongs that occurred some time in the distant past, the discrimination enforced by a previous generation. It is unfortunate that some advocates of affirmative action invoke the broad history of discrimination as the moral basis for positive action toward inclusion today. Contemporary affirmative action is justified by contemporary patterns of discrimination. While most of the formal barriers to inclusion have been dismantled over the last 25 years, there is sufficient bias in the informal practices of contemporary employers to justify ongoing systematic scrutiny required by affirmative action.

4. Misunderstanding of color-blindness and color-consciousness. It is just as clear now that a color-blind or sex-blind perspective to understanding the subtle, but no less systematic, contemporary barriers to full participation invites a color- and sex-consciousness orientation. Race, ethnicity, and sex are nearly impossible to ignore. It is not possible to exorcise race and ethnicity and gender in settings where people interact face to face. We simply cannot and should not attempt to separate people from the culture and heritage they bring with them. The goals of contemporary affirmative action require attention to the differences and similarities among us. ■

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Volume 20, No. 2 & 3 **February & March 1992**

R5685-4

Special National Policy Issue

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

Can America Solve Its Biggest Problems?

A Report on Deliberations Among Black Elected Officials and Policy Experts on Health, Education, Drugs and the Economy

- *Health: No Care for Millions*
- *Education: Schools That Work*
- *Drugs: More Jail Than Treatment*
- *The Economy: A Gloomy Forecast*

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Policy and Leadership

This special conference issue of FOCUS, funded by the American Gas Foundation, is devoted almost exclusively to the Sixth National Policy Institute, which was held in Washington, D.C., on January 23-25, 1992. It was sponsored once again by the Joint Center and the seven national caucuses of black public officials, and we all thought it was a great success.

This was the sixth national conference of black elected officials, but the third Institute convened before the onset of the presidential primaries. Convening in a presidential election year ensures that issues of grave importance to black Americans will be injected into the presidential debate. More than 200 black elected and appointed officials from across the country played leadership roles in the Institute. The conference opened with a luncheon salute to black elected officials sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus. Through a series of workshops and plenary sessions, the 1992 Institute, like its 1984 and 1988 predecessors, provided participants with information and strategies they can use in this election year and over the next five years. Participants focused on four important national concerns: reform of the health care system; economic reform and black economic empowerment; improving education prospects for blacks; and developing effective programs to combat drug abuse.

In 1992, the black community must not only speak out and be heard, but it must make its votes count. That was the message of Jesse Jackson's speech at the Institute's first plenary session, where he issued a challenge to the audience to raise black voter registration by 25 percent.

Two plenary sessions on other important issues took place during the conference. One dealt with some of the problems confronting young black males in our society, and the other closed out the Institute with a candid and hard hitting analysis of the current political situation as seen through the eyes of three prominent journalists, Clarence Page, columnist for *The Chicago Tribune*; Jack Germond, columnist for the *Baltimore Sun*; and Juan Williams, writer for *The Washington Post*.

An Institute "first" proved to be a real winner: a breakfast for high school students from the District of Columbia, called "Can We Talk?" And talk there was—from the platform and at each table. The program was organized to give high school juniors and seniors an opportunity to meet and talk with black elected and appointed officials and others active in public affairs. It was a novel experience for many of the 200 students who came prepared to talk about themselves, their classmates, issues they cared about and the future. Table conversations continued until buses were ready to leave and students departed carrying with them conference materials and a sense of having met people "we don't usually talk to."

Another distinguishing characteristic of the 1992 Institute was the high level of engagement among the participants who listened, commented, argued, exchanged experiences and business cards, and were impatient that there never seemed enough time to "really get into it." The corridors were full of people wanting to continue discussing both issues and strategies. Through the generous support of Philip Morris, Inc., fact sheets and other publications were developed and provided to participants on the four conference topics. Referring to the fact sheet on health care proposals, a city councilman pronounced it more useful than anything he had seen. "I can use this," he said, "the next time we get into an argument about health plans and what they mean." That is precisely what the Institute's sponsors had hoped to accomplish: To help prepare the black community to participate fully and effectively in the political debates and decisions that lie ahead. ■

Eddie N. Williams
PRESIDENT

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Can America Solve Its Biggest Problems?

Black Experts and Elected Officials Debate National Issues

In January, experts representing a range of disciplines assembled in Washington, D.C., at the Sixth National Policy Institute (SNPI). Participants engaged in a series of workshops and plenary sessions focusing on the most pressing problems facing black Americans today: declining health, inadequate education, drug abuse, and dimming economic prospects.

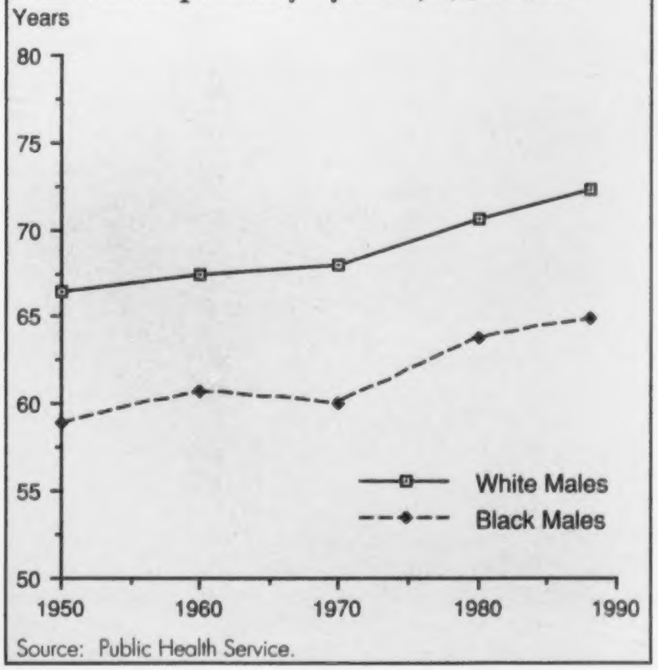
Each problem comes with an expensive price tag for the entire society. Drug abuse—prominently, crack cocaine—is not only a health scourge of epidemic proportions, but also a leading co-factor in the spread of AIDS in poor black communities. Unhealthy and undereducated citizens are less productive in the workplace. Moreover, despite high rates of arrest and conviction of blacks in the drug trade, drug-related homicides have continued to rise. Solutions to these difficulties are nevertheless making their appearance. Model approaches to education and drug treatment and alternatives to incarceration are being employed in localities across the nation, and they can be replicated.

Health: No Care for Millions

The message from experts and analysts who participated in health workshops at the SNPI conference is that the health diagnosis for black Americans as a whole is not good. Several factors contribute to this state of affairs, including racism, poverty, poor education, and high-risk behaviors—most prominently smoking and alcohol consumption. AIDS, which afflicts blacks at a higher rate than other segments of the population, is also a behavior-related disease.

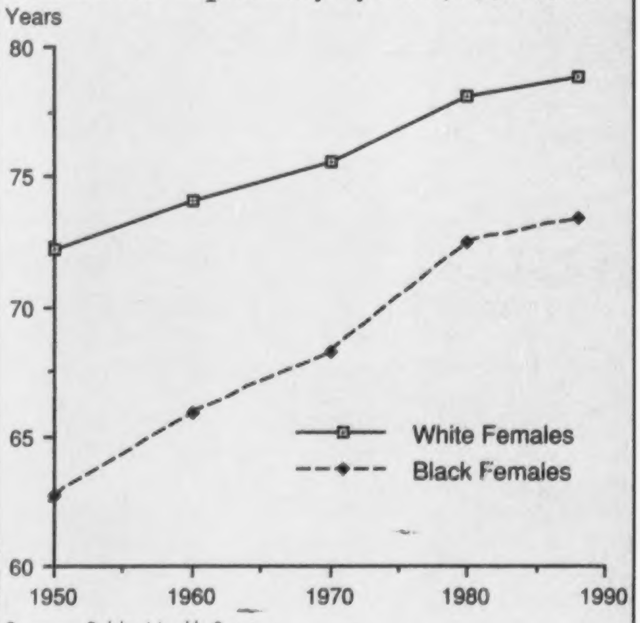
While the health of blacks and Hispanics is deteriorating, their representation among the nearly 40 million Americans who are without health insurance is disproportionately high. To address these issues, national policy makers are engaged in a debate over national health care options.

Male Life Expectancy by Race, 1950-1988



Source: Public Health Service.

Female Life Expectancy by Race, 1950-1988



Source: Public Health Service.

Access to quality medical care and treatment has decreased for American minority populations over the past 20 years, asserted William H. Turner, visiting scholar at Brandeis University's Bigel Institute for Health Policy. Rueben Warren, assistant director of the Office of Minority Health at the Centers for Disease Control, noted that the problem of decreasing access is made worse by other factors such as racism, low incomes, and poor education. One major reason why many black Americans have been excluded from mainstream health care is that one fourth of the black population is without health insurance. Turner also stated that for the one-third of blacks covered by Medicaid, service is inferior because the average Medicaid physican is

(Continued on page 4)

Health

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less qualified to practice medicine than other practitioners. This is a conclusion based on the number of such doctors who are Board certified and on their average age and hospital admitting records.

Joseph Liu, senior program associate at the Children's Defense Fund, added that the present system of health care in the United States accounts for disproportionate harm to blacks. Infant mortality is more than twice as high among blacks as it is among whites. Liu blames this disparity primarily on insufficient access to prenatal care, which only one half of pregnant black women receive. Since health care in the United States is primarily employee-based, most black women cannot obtain adequate health care owing to their high rates of unemployment and low-wage employment without benefits. As a result, over 60 percent of black children do not have employee-based health care insurance, and that number is on the rise.

Unhealthy Habits

David R. Williams, professor of sociology and epidemiology at Yale University, laid out seven personal health behaviors which had been determined to have a major effect on health and morbidity: smoking, drinking (alcohol), inadequate sleep, poor nutrition, lack of exercise, being overweight, and skipping breakfast. Of all these behaviors, smoking, which causes about 400,000 deaths a year, and drinking, which leads to half of all highway fatalities, were high-risk factors for 80 percent of the black population. Health experts have also cited drug abuse and violence as behaviors contributing to health problems among blacks.

Williams refuted the generally accepted notion that tobacco and alcohol use were purely a matter of personal choice unrelated to race or socioeconomic status. He contended that two societal factors have led blacks to increase their use of alcohol: the urge to escape from the stress associated with poverty and joblessness; and the collusion of government and industry in providing greater opportunities for use of alcohol and tobacco by blacks.

As an example, Williams cited surveys showing that there are many more liquor stores in black and poor neighborhoods as compared with other neighborhoods even though their location is licensed by the government. The federal government, of course, had also provided subsidies to tobacco growers for years.

Williams also asserted that the tobacco and alcohol interests wield power over legislative decision-making through political contributions. They seek to influence public opinion, she said, by contributing to charities and programs such as college scholarships and sporting events that help racial and ethnic groups and by extensively investing in advertising in the black media. At the same time, according to Williams, boycotting or rejecting contributions or investments from tobacco companies and breweries has become much more difficult, since these firms have diversified their holdings into processed foods and other products.

Turning to the impact of AIDS on the health of the black community, federal statistics show that about 200,000 people are currently suffering from AIDS, but it is impossible to provide a solid estimate of the number who will develop AIDS in future years since HIV infection is often symptomless and the virus can be present for as long as 10 years before manifesting itself in the form of AIDS. What we do know is that black women and children are at greatest risk of HIV infection and black men are three times more likely than white men to test positive for HIV. J. Lee Partridge, chief of the District of Columbia Office of Health Care Financing, added that post-diagnosis life expectancy for AIDS patients has increased because of the development of more effective, albeit expensive, drugs. Treating AIDS victims for longer periods of time, however, is likely to push insurance costs up.

Alternative Health Care Systems

Howard Jessamy, president of the District of Columbia Hospital Association, outlined two of the most prominent health care reform proposals under discussion by presidential candidates and national policy makers:

Universal health insurance based on the "Canadian System" would guarantee care to all Americans. The program would be paid for by the federal government from tax dollars. The government would control costs by negotiating with the medical profession and setting prices of services and procedures. Under this system, everyone would be covered except for small out-of-pocket expenses.

The *"pay or play"* approach would require all employers to either provide health coverage to their employees or pay a payroll tax to help finance a government insurance program.

The Bush administration wants to stay with the present system but proposes refinements such as health insurance vouchers for the poor, prohibiting insurance companies from refusing to sell insurance to anyone, and reducing costs by removing incentives for waste and inefficiency and by emphasizing "coordinated care" through programs like health maintenance organizations (HMOs).

As the debate about national health programs continues, some experts are concerned that these proposals may not fully address the needs of the poor in urban and rural communities around the country. Jacqueline Simmons, assistant professor at George Washington University Medical School in Washington, D.C., suggested that because the needs of individual communities vary, state and local programs may offer the best opportunities for reforming health-care delivery systems. William Turner of Brandeis University recommended increased federal funding of neighborhood health clinics and mandatory health education campaigns in schools conducted by medical professionals and counsellors.

Education: Schools That Work

Across the nation, minority students lag behind white students academically. Among the reasons for this disparity is inequitable spending between school systems in mainly white and minority communities. In addition, a growing segment of America's children are slipping below the poverty line and these poorer students bring special problems to school with them.

An enormous amount of pressure has fallen on the shoulders of black education officials and school superintendents to solve these problems. The economic demands to increase teacher salaries and to update textbooks and teaching materials are straining school budgets. Perhaps the greatest challenge for black school officials is to reshape educational institutions to fit the special needs of an increasingly diverse group of students.

Dr. Robert Peterkin, director of the Urban Superintendents Program at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, charged that of the 15,000 schools in this country, few are instructionally effective among minorities. Overall, black and Hispanic children are making progress, but they are not keeping pace with white children. Most of the problems are in urban areas where most children of color are being educated; black and Hispanic males there tend to be cut off from quality education and training.

Peterkin criticized the Bush administration's "America 2000" education program. In his view, "America 2000" consigns minority students to learning by repetition, an approach that does not lead to critical thinking.

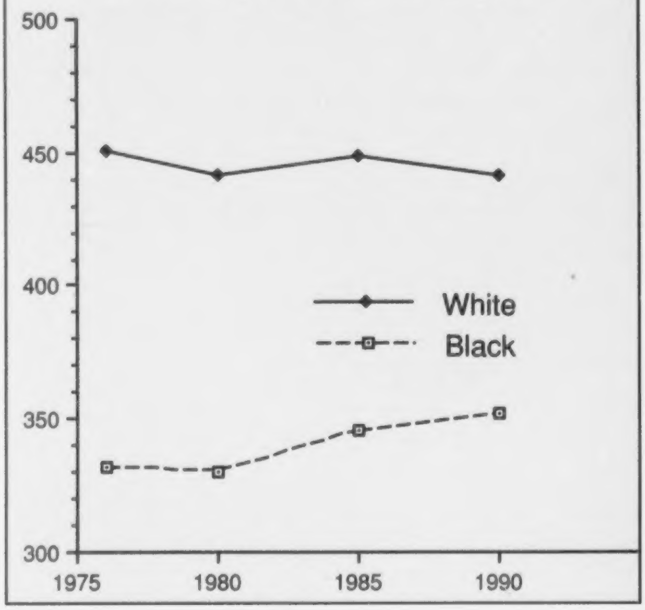
High Expectations Placed on Black Officials

Former District of Columbia school superintendent Floretta McKenzie, president of The McKenzie Group in Washington, D.C., stressed the tremendous pressure placed on black educational officials today: "The expectations are so high for black officials who have made it to superintendencies and other high positions. Parents and community leaders expect all their problems to be solved now that they have a black superintendent." Unfortunately, black superintendents are often appointed only after a school system is in a state of crisis. "It's almost like driving a car and trying to repair it at the same time," McKenzie said.

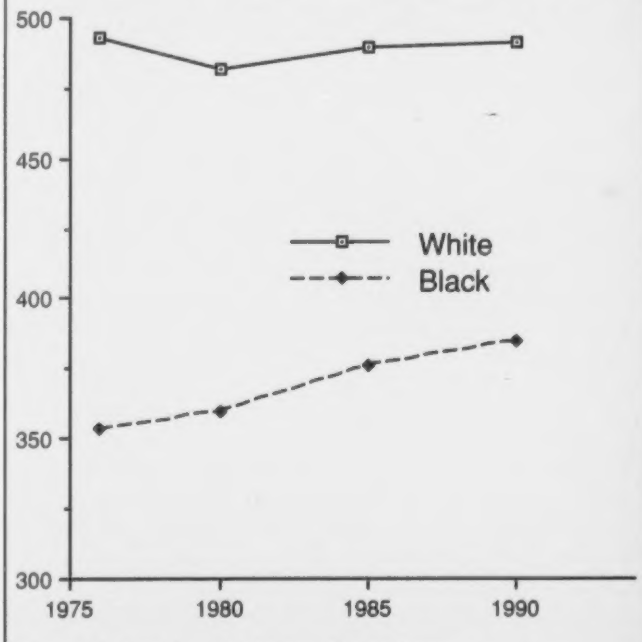
Significant demands and pressures placed on black officials today, according to McKenzie, include the following:

- Employers and public officials demand the education of all children, and not just some. This is really an old demand but it is pressing now because the restructured economy, the downsizing of the military, and social and economic trends make it more urgent than ever that all children gain employable skills.
- Parents demand equity in spending on students regardless of the income of their districts. In some cases, McKenzie noted, even equity spending is not enough because some children need more than others.
- Unions make demands regarding teachers' needs. Unfortunately, McKenzie believes, school districts have already reached their limit regarding union concessions.
- The problems of education are exacerbated by growing poverty, especially the poverty of children. McKenzie advocated greater interagency collaboration, saying, "We have to get the health and social agencies and the schools to work together [and]...to plan together."

SAT Verbal Scores, by Race, 1976-1990



SAT Mathematical Scores, by Race, 1976-1990



Source: College Board Admission Testing Program.

Education

(Continued from page 5)

Two-Tier Education

McKenzie emphasized how wealthy or middle-class students and parents face entirely different school environments with different budgets and political dynamics than lower-income families face. "We have basically a two-tier system, one that works for the wealthy, who demand the best and often get it," she said. "And if the wealthy don't get what they demand, they abandon the system to those who are powerless." She described one school district where the rich and the middle-class all had lawyers (indeed many of the parents were lawyers) and knew how to demand changes from the schools. So it was suggested that the poor get some lawyers—they did, and it went far toward putting them on a more equal footing.

Another aspect of the two-tier problem is the vast disparity in per-pupil spending—the widely disparate amounts spent on public school pupils in rich districts vs. poor ones. As an illustration, McKenzie described one independent suburban district in the Dallas, Texas, area that spends $10,000 per student annually, while a Dallas urban district pays only $5,000 per student.

Tailoring the School to Fit the Child

One conference participant said that mainstream teachers in his area don't know how to identify learning disabilities, that "disruptive" children are being pushed out of the system, and that this has caused the black dropout rate to soar. His question: "Should we expand special education or should we retrain our teachers?" McKenzie responded that "We talk about getting children ready for schools but we have to get the schools ready for the children." She added, "This may sound mean, but some of us [on boards] would rather 'employ people' than apply change. We have to be willing to retrain people."

Joseph Blanding, vice president of the Detroit Board of Education, described how auto plants used to throw out a part—such as a car door—if it didn't fit right away on the assembly line; now the automakers have flexible 'boxes' in the design, so that parts can be adapted more easily. "We need to move the teacher to the box [the school or classroom] that fits her style and also move the pupil to the box that fits his or her learning style." He described one school in Detroit that is now divided into two wings: in one wing the students wear uniforms. One might think that few public-school parents would ever put their children in a school where uniforms were required, but, as Blanding described it, "the day that new wing opened more than 500 students were there to fill all the spaces."

Many American school systems are in serious decline. When Blanding joined the school board, the Detroit system was $210 million in debt, it had a declining enrollment, 17 different bargaining units of teachers and others were facing periodic payless paydays, and textbooks had not been renewed in 10 years. The school board's strategy to turn the situation around was not to just talk about "the resources we'd like to have" but rather to work with "what resources we already had—a $1 billion budget, 10,000 teachers, and 20,000 school employees."

In order to make efficient use of resources, the Detroit system shut down underpopulated schools and reassigned personnel. "We moved administrators who had become paper pushers back into the classroom," said Blanding. An electronic monitoring system was installed, whereby the board could get instant reporting from schools on their student achievement. To deal with the textbook problem, while 'Afro-centric' materials were not specifically sought, the board looked for books that were factually accurate. For example, the board replaced a social studies text that said the oldest known evidence of homo sapiens was found in Europe—and never mentioned the far older fossils of early humans uncovered in Africa. The board spent a long time rejecting replacement textbooks because they didn't meet its standards of accuracy.

Exemplary Programs

Shirley McBay, project director of Quality Education for Minorities Network, in Washington, D.C., outlined an "education that works" plan focused on minority students. The plan includes full funding for Head Start programs and a revision of the pedagogical tracking system that has often excluded minorities from gifted and talented classes. Other effective programs discussed at the conference included these:

- Attorneys in Atlanta have sponsored a mentoring program to reduce truancy;
- The National Science Foundation has begun a program to fund science summer camps for low-income students [NSF contact: David Stoner (202) 357-7350];
- College students are role models and tutors for children in Atlanta housing projects; and
- In New York City and Milwaukee, public schools reach out to parents through workshops and by using parent-family rooms.

There was a consensus that as teachers and school officials seek ways to educate minority students, they must design academic approaches that respect the values and cultures of children from all families. Educators must come to grips with the changing dynamics of family life and its impact on children. Non-traditional family types—single family, dual family, and step-families—are growing. Similarly, teaching should reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of the American classroom.

It was agreed that the society must accept the grave consequences for not improving the education of minority youth. Poorly educated people are less healthy than others, more likely to be jobless, and they tend to slip into the criminal justice system more frequently. The downstream costs of such neglect—in increased health care, welfare, and the incarceration of more criminals—must be borne by the society. The financial burden is heavy now and it is increasing beyond our means.

February-March 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- Jesse Jackson says that black voter registration must increase by 25 percent this election year.
- A Joint Center chart looks at the results of presidential primaries and caucuses.
- Across the Nation: Georgia gets a new black Supreme Court justice; in Illinois, three black candidates sweep House and Senate incumbents from office; in Maryland, Albert Wynn wins in a new majority-black congressional district and former Reagan official Alan Keyes will oppose Senator Barbara Mikulski; and Alexandria vice mayor William Cleveland makes a bid for Congress from Virginia.

A Commitment to Values – Rebuild America

At the opening session of the Sixth National Policy Institute, the Reverend Jesse Jackson issued a call to action. The following are excerpts from his speech.

"As we enter the coming political season, the leadership of this country faces a great challenge. The nation is in pain. We are in the worst recession since the Great Depression. We have the greatest national debt and deficit in history. There are more poor people, more unemployed, more failed financial institutions than at any time since the 1930s. One quarter of all cities are in fiscal crisis. It is time to move beyond politics-as-usual. It is time for leadership to assume the burden of vision and to be bold enough to address the deep problems that we face. Every American has the right to a job, a decent income, and health care. Every American has the right to vote—Washington, D.C., deserves statehood. We need same-day, on-site voter registration. We need alternatives to welfare, a strong private sector with jobs for everybody, and government based on common sense and compassion."

The Margin of Hope. "As African American leaders and elected officials, history has placed a special burden upon us to put the black vote at the center of the moral movement for a better America. There are 20 million African Americans eligible to vote; seven million are unregistered, and nine million did not vote in 1988—the margin of victory for any election. Our vote is not only large, it is strategically concentrated in the South and in California, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. In 1988, Dukakis needed 650,000 more votes in 12 key states to win. The unregistered black vote would have provided it in at least eight of those 12—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and South Dakota. Dukakis lost by the margin of our non-participation and his preoccupation with the Reagan-Democrats.

"We must raise black voter registration by 25 percent. We have the people and the apparatus to do it, if we have the will. Those two million voters would affect public policy in the entire nation and shift the center of the political debate. Mayor Herenton in Memphis won by 132 votes last year out of 250,000 cast. David Duke was stopped, even as he won 55 percent of the white vote. But when the black vote has done less than its best, we lose. A new governor in Mississippi ran on a platform to repeal the Voting Rights Act. In Michigan, Governor Engler is using a meat-ax approach to cut 90,000 people off public assistance. He won by 17,000 votes, less than the margin of people now abandoned in Detroit alone.

"We still face schemes of disenfranchisement: gerrymandering, at-large elections, annexation, second primaries, inaccessible registration, and 30-day close-outs. We need same-day, on-site, universal voter registration that is known to raise voter participation by 10 to 15 percent. If you are caught speeding, by the time they have written your ticket they have your entire record up on the computer. If we have that level of technology for law enforcement, we can use it to register voters."

Voting our Interests. "The African American community has historically voted its interests. And its interests are indistinguishable from the national interests. The black vote has an interest in affordable housing, health care, education, fair taxes, jobs and prosperity in the private sector. We cannot win alone. But in coalition with workers, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asians, women, and youth, we can take back our democracy."

Statehood for the District of Columbia. "This year, April 4th, the Rainbow Coalition is organizing a mass demonstration of support for D.C. statehood, ringing the Capitol. The black vote has an interest in statehood for Washington, D.C.—to expand democracy and create two more senators to fight for a plan to rebuild America. Washington has more people than five states, we pay more taxes than 10, and we sent more of our youth to the Persian Gulf than 20 states. Yet we have no vote. Out of 150 elected governments, ours is the only one that disenfranchises the citizens of its capital. D.C. statehood is morally right. It is legally sound and consistent with our commitment to self-determination."

Alternatives to Violence. "As we aim to increase voter registration by 25 percent, we must also aim to reduce crime by 25 percent. There are now 177,000 youths under 25 in state and federal prisons. The nation spends over $47 billion on police protection and corrections. In Washington, D.C., Lorton Penitentiary has 13,000 inmates and a $261 million budget. In Connecticut they are laying off teachers and closing schools and libraries, yet they are building 6,000 new jail cells at $85,000 a cell and spending $24,000 a year to incarcerate each prisoner. If we could rescue 25 percent—44,000 youth—from the cycle of violence, and save 25 percent of the violence budget, that could provide $12 billion to invest in the futures of young people. It means that we must vigorously teach alternatives to violence to our children in their formative years. We must end easy access to guns and drugs. We must enlist the aid of entertainers—high-impact educators who influence and transmit values—in a grand drive to reduce crime and violence.

"Registration up 25 percent—new empowerment. Crime down 25 percent—new resources for humane priorities. It's a question of leadership. On the other hand, under George Bush, unemployment went up by 25 percent. And yet we must not be tempted to correlate economic decline with moral decline. The rise in unemployment was a private economic collapse, due to greed, corruption, mismanagement, and hard hearts in high places. But the rise in crime did not come from food riots, or people breaking into libraries to learn. Do not rationalize crime as a companion to economic decline. We must fight both economic violence and moral violence, and rebuild this nation's ethical and moral foundation as well as its economic foundation."

Corporate Quotas. "In January, President Bush got on a plane with 23 all-white, all-male multimillionaires to go to Japan. They demanded goals, targets, timetables, market share, and quotas, or they threatened legislative reprisals. They demanded international affirmative action. And yet on that trip there was not one labor leader, one small-business person, one woman, one African American, or one Hispanic. There was not one mayor or one governor or one local official. Instead, Bush took men who made millions while laying off workers, losing market share, and depriving cities of tax revenues.

"The failure of the private sector has created a backlog of desperate people dependent on the government. The top 500 companies *have not produced one new job in 10 years*. We need fair trade at home and abroad. We need the same affirmative action measures from U.S. corporations that they demand from the Japanese—fair access, open markets, and a commitment to real results."

An Economic and Ethical Revival. "In the final analysis, the burden for change, the burden for political empowerment, the burden for safe streets, the burden for a more intense commitment to learning and labor, the burden for family stability, rests mainly upon the shoulders of those who need it the most. We must end at-risk lifestyles and address the sinful syndrome of unsafe sex, unsafe guns, unsafe drugs, unsafe study habits, unsafe family values, and unsafe workplace ethics.

"Leadership has the responsibility to step into the breach and move the nation to the moral center. We must be freed from spending tax dollars on jails while teachers are laid off and schools are closed. We must act boldly when 90 million Americans fail to exercise their democratic right to vote. In the final analysis, what is morally wrong will never be politically right, but what is morally right will eventually be politically possible."

Delegate Count and Black Vote in Democratic Primaries and Caucuses

	#D	%V	Clinton		Tsongas		Brown		Harkin		Kerrey		Uncommitted
			#D	%V	#D	%V	#D	%V	#D	%V	#D	%V	#D
(C) Iowa (Feb. 10)	49	.2	0		0		0		**40**		0		9
(P) New Hampshire (Feb. 18)	18	.4	9		**9**		0		0		0		0
(C) Maine (Feb. 23)	23	.2	5		**9**		**9**		0		0		0
(P) South Dakota (Feb. 25)	15	.2	3		0		0		5		**7**		0
(C) American Samoa (March 3)	3	0	0		0		0		0		0		3
(P) Colorado (March 3)	47	4	14		16		**17**		0		0		0
(P) Georgia (March 3)	76	31	**54**	70	22	14	0	9	0	1	0	2	0
(C) Idaho (March 3)	18	.1	0		5		0		**6**		0		2
(P) Maryland (March 3)	67	24	29	55	**38**	25	0	5	0	6	0	2	0
(C) * Minnesota (March 3)	78	1.2	8		15		6		**21**		6		0
(C) Utah (March 3)	23	.6	5		**9**		9		0		0		0
(C) * Washington (March 3)	71	2.4	10		**23**		14		5		4		0
(C) Arizona (March 7)	41	2.4	**15**		14		12		0		Kerrey Out March 5		0
(P) South Carolina (March 7)	43	26	**36**	77	7	5	0	4	0	11			0
(C) Wyoming (March 7)	13	.6	**3**		0		3		0				6
(C) Nevada (March 8)	17	4.8	5		3		**6**		0				3
(C) Delaware (March 10)	14	13.8	3		**5**		3		Harkin Out March 9				3
(P) Florida (March 10)	148	13	**87**	74	58	14	3	10					0
(C) Hawaii (March 10)	20	2.1	**11**		0		1						8
(P) Lousiana (March 10)	60	27	**59**	86	1	3	0	7					0
(P) Massachusetts (March 10)	94	4	0		**81**		13						0
(P) Mississippi (March 10)	39	33	**39**	78	0	3	0	10					0
(C) Missouri (March 10)	77	10	**36**		2		0						29
(P) Oklahoma (March 10)	45	6	**38**		0		7						0
(P) Rhode Island (March 10)	22	2.4	6		**12**		4						0
(P) Tennessee (March 10)	68	15	**56**	82	12	13	0	4					0
(P) Texas (March 10)	196	11	**95**	86	28	6	1	4					72
(P) Illinois (March 17)	164	19	**107**	70	46	12	11	10					0
(P) Michigan (March 17)	131	14	**74**	73	20	9	37	13					0
					Tsongas Out March 19								
Total Delegates, March 23	1680		807		435		156		77		17		135

#D Number of Delegates

%V Percentage of Black Voters (Based on exit polls conducted by Voter Research and Surveys, a company created by ABC News, CBS News, NBC News, and CNN.)

Numbers in bold show the winner with the highest percentage of voters.

* At press time

Across The Nation

GEORGIA: Following through on his vow to appoint minorities to key government positions, Governor **ZELL MILLER** named Fulton County Superior Court Judge **LEAH J. SEARS-COLLINS** to the state supreme court. Sworn in on March 6, Sears-Collins replaced Justice George Smith, who retired. She will have to run for election to a full six-year term this summer. The 36-year-old graduate of Emory University Law School is the first woman and the second black ever to serve on the state's highest court. Prior to her new position, Sears-Collins served as a county superior court judge—an elected position—for four years and as a judge in Atlanta city court for six years; she practiced with a private Atlanta firm for two years. **ROBERT BENHAM** became the state's first black supreme court justice in 1989.

ILLINOIS: **MEL REYNOLDS**, a 39-year-old black Rhodes Scholar and attorney from Chicago's South Side won his third bid to unseat the outspoken and often controversial Congressman **AUGUSTUS "GUS" SAVAGE** in the March 17 primary. Reynolds beat the incumbent by a more than two-to-one margin. Local observers say two factors—the addition of suburban areas to the 2nd district during the redistricting process and Reynolds' position as a lone challenger—enabled him to out-poll the six-term congressman this time. The newly drawn district remains predominantly black—68 percent—but several urban wards were subtracted from the district and replaced by suburban areas where Reynolds picked up support among white and middle-class black voters.

In two Democratic primary upsets, Cook County recorder of deeds **CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN** beat two-term U.S. Senator **ALAN DIXON**, while **BOBBY RUSH**, a Chicago alderman and vice chair of the Illinois Democratic Party, defeated Congressman **CHARLES HAYES** who has served in the U.S. House since winning a special election in 1983 (see Across the Nation, December 1991). The losses of both veteran legislators seem to stem in part from the anti-incumbent mood of voters around the country. Braun, a former prosecutor and state legislator, was helped in her race by the candidacy of millionaire lawyer **AL HOFELD** who attacked Dixon in a series of negative campaign ads and siphoned off some of the incumbent's support. Though Braun ran an underfinanced campaign, she was helped by the support of women angered by Dixon's vote to confirm **CLARENCE THOMAS** as a U.S. Supreme Court justice. Braun will face Republican **RICHARD WILLIAMSON**, who has served in the Reagan and Bush administrations, in her bid to become the first black woman in the U.S. Senate.

Bobby Rush, who was a leader in the Illinois Black Panther Party in the '60s, took advantage of the recent revelation that Congressman Hayes is number six on the list of House members who overdrew their accounts at the House Bank with a total of 716 bounced checks. Tapping into voter anger about the scandal, Rush edged out Hayes in Illinois' first congressional district. Both Rush and Reynolds are practically guaranteed House seats since their districts contain large black and Democratic majorities.

MARYLAND: In a close race, state senator **ALBERT R. WYNN** won the Democratic nomination for Maryland's newly created majority-black congressional seat by winning 28 percent of the vote, topping a field of 12 candidates in the March 3 primary. Wynn, 40, narrowly defeated Prince George's County state's attorney **ALEXANDER WILLIAMS, JR.**, who had been considered the likely victor throughout the race, fell short with just 26 percent of the vote. Wynn's triumph is attributed to the aggressive campaign he conducted in the 4th district—the nation's first majority-black suburban district—which encompasses sections of Prince George's and Montgomery counties in the Washington, D.C., suburbs (*see* December 1991 TrendLetter). In November Wynn will face black Silver Spring businesswoman **MICHELE DYSON**, the Republican nominee, but in this heavily Democratic district his victory is virtually certain.

ALAN L. KEYES captured the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate in the March 3 primary, winning 49 percent of the vote in a field of 15 candidates. He will battle formidable Democratic incumbent **BARBARA MIKULSKI** in the general election. Keyes, 41, failed in his 1988 Senate bid against Maryland's other Democratic senator **PAUL SARBANES**, receiving less than 40 percent of the vote, and he faces an uphill challenge this time. A self-proclaimed conservative, Keyes is a former Reagan administration official who most recently headed Citizens Against Government Waste, an organization that advocates lower taxes.

VIRGINIA: Alexandria's black Republican vice mayor, **WILLIAM C. CLEVELAND**, is seeking his party's nomination for the 8th congressional district seat, representing northern Virginia. Opposing him for the nomination are **JOE VASPOLI** and **KYLE McSLARROW**, both white lawyers. If Cleveland wins the June 9 primary, he will face off against first-term Democrat **JAMES P. MORAN, JR**. The 8th district is 13.5 percent black and includes Alexandria, Falls Church, Arlington County and part of Fairfax County.

Cleveland has established a grassroots organization for young black males and works with several youth and drug-rehabilitation oriented community groups. He also helped establish the Alexandria Resident Council on Public Housing which enables residents to purchase housing units.

Drugs: More Jail Than Treatment

The government's response to the national drug crisis has affected black and white Americans differently. While the overwhelming majority of illicit drug users in the United States are white, most drug arrests occur among blacks and other minorities. Minorities convicted of drug crimes are also more likely than whites to receive mandatory minimum sentences. Unfortunately, as a society, we are better equipped to incarcerate black drug users than to treat their addictions. Minorities without health insurance or the ability to pay must wait up to a year to receive treatment for drug dependency.

"Police intervention is only a small part of the solution to America's drug problem," said David Chavis, director of the Center for Community Education in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Atlanta Police Chief Eldrin Bell agrees. While law enforcement obviously has a place in the war on drugs, Bell said, the role of police should be modified to focus more on the needs of the community. The neighborhood-oriented policing he described requires officers to address the underlying problems contributing to drug abuse and almost to become social workers. Bell noted that the keys to successful neighborhood-oriented policing, which he has instituted in Atlanta, are training and a teamwork style like that common to firefighters. Like firefighters, police officers in Atlanta are being trained to scan, analyze, assess, and respond to each event—with the primary goal of solving a problem or ending a crisis.

Police Chief Isaac Fulwood of Washington, D.C., asserted that in order to fight drugs, state and local governments must make up-front investments in education and health, as well as organizing communities and providing role models. The war on drugs will not be won, he believes, until communities decide to take control away from the drug peddlers. Leon West, director of the National Anti-Drug Campaign for the Congress of National Black Churches, in Washington, D.C., added that churches can serve as a conduit for such efforts.

Sentencing Alternatives

One of the grim harvests of the national drug crisis is the high incarceration rate it has generated among young black offenders who must often face mandatory minimum prison sentences. John Wilson, chair of the District of Columbia City Council, noted that within the United States there are approximately 1.4 million people in prison, of whom 40 percent are minorities. Within the District of Columbia's prison system, 44 percent were convicted of drug offenses and 56 percent tested positive for drug use when arrested.

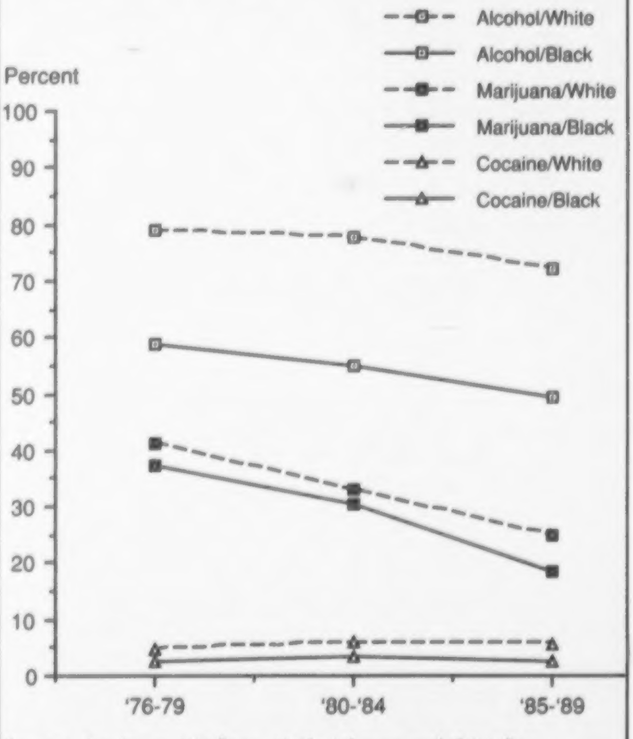
Judge Thelma Wyatt Cummings of the Georgia Superior Court offered this view: "Each day, I am faced with 17- to 23-year-old black males in chains and shackles. Most haven't completed high school, possess practically no job skills, and have no thoughts of what to do with their lives." The following are among the sentences the judge imposes as alternatives to incarceration: those without high school diplomas must work toward GED diplomas or return to school; those with jobs must remain employed; and those with drug problems must receive treatment. Unfortunately, the system is often unable to provide treatment services. According to Cummings, 70 percent of the anti-drug resources in Atlanta are directed toward punishment, with only 30 percent for treatment. The backlog of people waiting for treatment ranges from three months to a year in many American cities.

Cummings recalled that during one jury selection, 20 of the 48 predominantly white prospective jurors reported that they had seen cocaine being used in a social setting. "The people at those cocaine parties aren't arrested," she quipped. "The people brought into the court on charges are 99.6 percent black—the drug runners or dealers—and not the traffickers whose families can afford drug treatment programs. Generally, blacks have no access to treatment, can't come up with bail, and are willing to plead guilty in order to receive a lesser sentence. After a while, for judges, they become 'hopeless and faceless people.'"

An Arrest Record for Every Black Male?

Jerome Miller, president and founder of the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives in Alexandria, Virginia, believes the majority of people in jail do not belong there. He pointed out that the prison population has ex-

Drug Use During the Previous 30 Days, Male High School Seniors, by Race, 1976-1989



Source: Bachman, Wallace, Kurth, Johnson and O'Malley, *Monitoring Occasional Paper 30*, Revised 1991.

Drugs

(Continued from page 7)

perienced a dramatic demographic shift since the system began applying mandatory minimum sentences, primarily because of drug convictions.

The chance of being arrested is generally the highest for young black males. Miller cited a 1968 study by Carnegie Mellon University which found that in any given large city, one in every four male residents could expect to be arrested for a felony; among non-white males, that likelihood rose to one in two. Today, more than 20 years later, the situation is worse: in Los Angeles, over the average black male's lifetime, the chance that he will be arrested is 85 to 90 percent.

Miller believes that incarceration is often the society's inadequate way of dealing with social problems—warehousing illiterates, the jobless, and people with drug problems who slip into the criminal justice system. There is no reason for jail overcrowding, Miller believes. He said that men who are out on work-release during the day can be found at the end of the day seated outside of jails waiting for a cell to open. If these people are trusted to wait outside, he argued, the need for their continued incarceration should be questioned. "But there are many alternatives to incarceration," Miller said, "and research shows these alternatives do work."

Aside from inappropriate uses of incarceration, Miller estimates that two-thirds of the people in jail at any one time are awaiting trial. Of those, a further two-thirds remain in jail because they cannot meet the full bail or even the 10 percent that would be required. Miller stressed that we need basic reforms to gain the freedom to pursue alternatives and social-control methods, such as electronic monitoring devices used by parole boards to keep track of the locations of offenders who are under house arrest.

John Clark, assistant director of the Community Corrections and Detention Division of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, said the federal system uses alternatives whenever possible, including probation, parole, boot camps, halfway houses, and community corrections centers. Another alternative described by Clark involves urban work camps. In this approach, convicts are housed for 18 months in halfway houses either at the end of their sentences or in lieu of prison. Clark said that while correctional professionals are willing to try such community-based options, the public is not so willing. Citizens tend to view such alternatives as soft on crime, even though, according to Julie Stewart, president of Families Against Mandatory Minimums in Washington, D.C., alternative sentences are not in fact soft.

Meanwhile, according to Martin, minimum sentences mandated by federal, state, and local statutes—which offer the appearance of being hard on drug offenders and those committing crimes with weapons—create a separate problem. They are antithetical, she believes, to the idea of justice. "Our philosophy of justice posits that both sides are heard with the judge determining the sentence," she said. "With mandatory minimums, this mandate is not achieved." In her argument she raised these points:

- Low-level participants in the drug trade receive mandatory sentences more often than high-level drug importers, since the latter can provide information leading to the prosecution of others in exchange for reduced sentences.
- Small differences in drug weight result in major differences in sentences for drug users. On one occasion, when a judge ordered that the prosecution's evidence (crack-cocaine) be re-weighed, the difference between the original stated weight and the actual weight saved the defendant seven years off his sentence.
- Nonviolent first offenders regularly spend more time in prison than violent criminals. According to Martin, violent felons such as murderers, rapists, and robbers are frequently granted early release to make room for nonviolent offenders serving mandatory minimums.

It will cost billions of dollars to build new prisons and house future drug offenders. District of Columbia councilman John Wilson estimated that to house each inmate costs approximately $22,000 per year. In order to stop this arbitrary use of the criminal justice system, Julie Stewart said we must debunk the myth that the only choices we have as a society are either more prisons or more crime.

Judge Thelma Cummings stressed the need for a strong national policy that makes treatment a priority. The dilemma for judges, especially those who are elected, is that they must not only uphold the law but be responsive to society. Society needs to understand the futility of building more jails and locking people up as a means of solving problems.

The Economy: A Gloomy Forecast

The recession continues to take its toll on blue-collar and professional workers as well as black entrepreneurs, and economists are not forecasting a strong recovery when the recession is over. Some of the conference participants identified the lack of access to capital and the dismantling of municipal minority set-aside programs as factors that limit minority business development. Others, however, stressed the need to increase our investments in education to expand the pool of skilled workers. Some remedies were proposed. Creation of public-service jobs at the national level was discussed as a way to reduce unemployment. It was also suggested that local investment firms could aid minority business by supporting new start-ups.

In an overview of the current economic status of black Americans, Wayne County (Michigan) Commissioner Arthur Blackwell asserted that while the nation is in a recession, the black community is in a depression. He added that the African-American community has been in a constant state of recession and has always survived. The challenge is to figure out how it can prosper.

The chair of Howard University's Economics Department, Charles Betsey, argued that the current recession is different from other downturns because it was preceded by almost 18 months of economic stagnation. It is likely to be followed by weak growth in the 1.6 to 3 percent range.

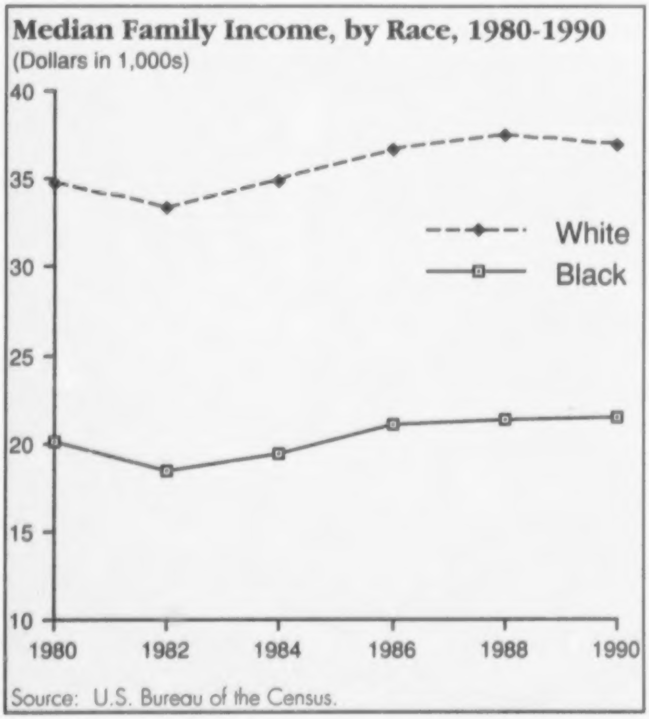
compared to a typical 6 percent surge in the first 12 months following recessions in recent years. Betsey blamed this on the federal deficit accumulated during the 1980s which severely weakened the nation's banking and credit system. While low inflation and moderate interest rates are bright spots in the economic picture, the consensus among many economists is that unemployment is likely to remain above 6 percent through 1993.

Despite the anti-recession tonics proposed by Congress and President Bush, Betsey cautioned that there is no quick fix. While a stimulus is needed, he saw no justification for a tax cut for either upper- or middle-income Americans, but said he could make a strong case to reduce taxes on individuals at the bottom of the income scale who suffered the most severe financial setbacks in the 1980s.

Economist Bernard Anderson, president of the Philadelphia-based Anderson Group, pointed to a new twist in this recession: because of corporate downsizing, white-collar workers are being laid off on an unprecedented scale. This is especially bad news for black Americans in an economy that has shifted jobs from the higher paying manufacturing sector to services. The disappearing white-collar positions are precisely the kinds of jobs blacks have aspired to as a means of raising their standard of living.

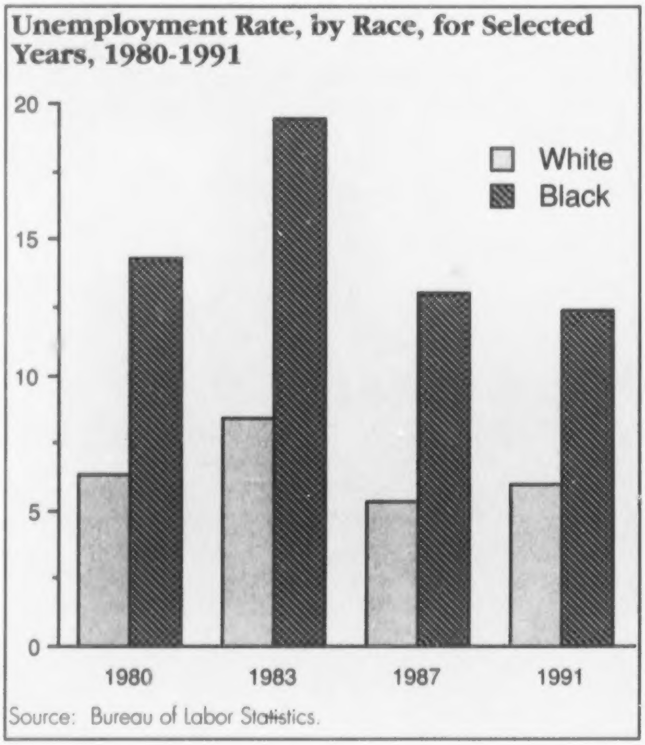
In the long run, Anderson believes, the success of the economy and of the black community requires two kinds of policies: a fiscal policy that will increase spending on physical infrastructure and a policy that stresses investments in education to increase our capacity to compete internationally.

The importance of the latter policy was driven home by the following anecdote. The McDonalds restaurant chain is one of the largest employers of those young people who are slipping through the educational cracks either by dropping out of school or by being graduated based merely on their attendance rather than academic achievement. In order to ensure that all their employees are able to work as cashiers, McDonalds' cash registers now have pictures of food items rather than numbers with dollars and cents symbols on the keys. McDonalds' explanation is that school systems just aren't producing enough young people with a basic education.


Median Family Income, by Race, 1980-1990
(Dollars in 1,000s)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Nevertheless, large numbers of well qualified black workers are seeking jobs in an economy that is not producing enough of them. With respect to job creation, Demetra Nightingale, director of Welfare and Training Research Programs for The Urban Institute in Washington, D.C. said that the current recession seems to be creating a climate wherein the issue of public-service employment is once again being considered. There are a number of rationales for the establishment of public service employment: the unemployed are a wasted resource that could add to the net national product; work skills have been shown to deteriorate the longer one remains unemployed; young workers who become discouraged need a safety net to keep them from falling out of the workforce; welfare recipients and retired persons are an untapped resource; and finally, "a job should be a basic right of every individual."


Unemployment Rate, by Race, for Selected Years, 1980-1991

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In spite of the "overstated" negatives—such as government's limited ability to create jobs and the burden of administering such programs—benefits of the public-service approach could include more high-quality services for communities and expanded job placement of minorities in both the public and private sectors.

Economics

(Continued from page 9)

Black Entrepreneurs Need Cash, Contracts

Andre Carrington, executive director of the Commission on Minority Business Development in Washington, D.C., discussed the findings of the 15-member panel appointed by President Bush to determine how to foster growth among minority business enterprises. After two years of study, an interim report released in March 1991 found the following: many black entrepreneurs lack sufficient access to capital; there needs to be a better system to track the flow of capital to black businesses; and the federal government needs to play a stronger role in tracking the flow of international trade deals among black businesses. The Commission's final report will be released this spring.

Many questions and comments dealt with the 1989 *City of Richmond* v. *J.A. Croson* Supreme Court ruling, which declared the Richmond, Virginia, minority business set-aside program unconstitutional and established rigid standards that jurisdictions must meet before they can establish or operate set-asides. The decision requires that jurisdictions conduct a "disparity" study to prove direct or indirect discrimination against minority firms. It also mandates that remedies be narrowly focused.

Rodney Strong, the director for contract compliance in Atlanta, cited his city as an example of how officials are struggling to develop a program that would meet the standards laid down in the *Croson* decision. With a long-established and progressive set-aside program, Atlanta met the new requirements and reestablished its program by hiring economic consultants to develop a "factual predicate" for the city and to document past discrimination. Their study analyzed the negative effects of conservative economic policies on black Americans, and it documented every type of discrimination against black businesses in the Atlanta construction industry through the testimony of laborers, CPAs, attorneys, and other involved parties. Analyzing data on the past use of minority firms by the city, a "utilization percentage ratio" for every industry in Atlanta was devised.

Atlanta now must establish minority set-aside goals, project by project. The benchmarks are 30 percent African-American and one percent Asians and Native Americans. No goals can be set unless minority business are actually operating in an industry. The city council also passed new legislation requiring joint ventures with minority firms on projects over $10 million and a bonding assistance program for minority businesses involved in those ventures. So far, no one has challenged these new standards in court.

While established black firms are having trouble securing municipal contracts, the lack of capital is preventing some entrepreneurs from getting businesses off the ground. Jennifer Henderson, director of training at the Center for Community Change in Washington, D.C., stated that due to the numerous recent mergers and acquisitions of banks, community banks that used to finance fledgling ventures have become a thing of the past. Banks still located in black communities but owned by large national or multinational parent companies have no sense of commitment to local communities.

The Michigan BIDCO (Business and Industrial Development Corporation) Act promotes the formation of business and industrial development corporations which in turn provide financing and management assistance to minority firms. Karl Gregory, who chairs the Greater Detroit BIDCO, explained that BIDCOs help minority entrepreneurs get loans and seed capital usually denied them through traditional lending mechanisms. Applicants for BIDCO assistance must raise a certain amount of capital on their own, and it is then matched by loans from the state. These loans have an interest rate of one percent and are payable in 10 years.

Participation in the BIDCO program enables entrepreneurs to earn their way out of interest and principal repayments; in effect, the arrangement ends up being a grant instead of a loan. Response to the program has been high, and Gregory believes that the BIDCO model can be applied in other states. ■

The steering committee responsible for coordinating the SNPI conference were: Edolphus Towns, Chair, Congressional Black Caucus; Webster Brewer, Chair, Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, and Veronica Simmons McBeth, immediate past chair of the Council; Thelma Moore, President, National Association of Black County Officials; Carolyn Long Banks, President, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and Daniel Tabor, immediate past president of the Caucus; Regis Groff, President, National Black Caucus of State Legislators; Brenda J. Council, President, National Caucus of Black School Board Members; Unita Blackwell, President, National Conference of Black Mayors; Eddie N. Williams, President, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; and Russell E. Owens, Director of the National Policy Institute at the Joint Center.

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Volume 20, No. 4

April 1992

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The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

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PERSPECTIVE

Blacks and Jews Must Stand Together

The black and Jewish communities are challenged by these unsettling times. A mere 25 years after the nation ascended the mountaintop of a great moral crusade for civil rights and human decency, we are confronted by a resurgence of racism and anti-Semitism. Specters of bigotry have recently shown themselves in the political rise of David Duke, barely out of the sheets of the KKK and the paraphernalia of Nazism, and in the presidential candidacy of Patrick Buchanan, whose campaign has engendered racial and ethnic distrust. Distinguished historian Arthur Schlesinger recently wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* about the widespread resurgence of hate in the politics of Western Europe and in Eastern Europe as well.

The suffering and discontent of communities like Crown Heights have erupted in anger, reflecting not only black-Jewish tensions but also the intemperance of some personalities who are attempting to polarize our communities. Indeed, the rhetoric of some of today's youth, in both black and Jewish communities, reflects little of the beliefs that once guided our collaboration.

Blacks and Jews share similarly painful histories. Both have been scattered across the globe and have a sense of diaspora—yet we remain conscious of our origins. We have long been aware of our vulnerability, and thus share a strong commitment to the struggle against bigotry and the promotion of brotherhood, both of which are vital to our survival. Twenty-five years ago, blacks and Jews understood the power of coalition politics and we locked arms in pursuit of Martin Luther King's vision of racial harmony. We celebrated victory and dreamed of a unified society, proud of its diversity yet clear about a shared identity as Americans. However, it is not enough that we have credentials shaped in the crucible of history. We must also continue to practice our beliefs and lead by example.

Blacks and Jews must reaffirm their belief in the value of a strong special relationship, in spite of periodic expressions and behaviors that would tend to discourage us. We have shared mutually beneficial ties for over a century. In the early post-slavery years, Jews worked with black leaders to address segregation and Jim Crow laws. And blacks and Jews marched arm-in-arm in the modern struggle for civil rights and social justice. Black and Jewish members of Congress have been close allies in supporting the State of Israel, funding for social programs, civil rights measures, and hate crimes legislation.

We must expand efforts to jointly tackle urgent social problems. This can only be accomplished by narrowing the distance between our two communities through a patient investment of our time, energy, and resources.

The Joint Center and the American Jewish Committee have been firm partners for some time now. Thus far, our two organizations have cosponsored three productive meetings, one to discuss black-Jewish relations, another to discuss the tragic Crown Heights incident of last summer, and a third to explore prospects for joint efforts to launch new programs for economic opportunity. And we are now producing a monograph exploring the past, present, and future of black-Jewish relations.

We believe that these are important steps toward rebuilding bonds that will enable us to weather these unsettling times and, indeed, to build a foundation on which to develop future efforts. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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A Letter on Constitutional Justice

Federal Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Calls Upon Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas to Defend the Weak, the Poor, Minorities, and Women

This article was excerpted from an open letter written to Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas on November 29, 1991 by Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., Chief Judge Emeritus, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. The full text of this letter was published in the January 1992 issue of the University of Pennsylvania Law Review. *Reprints of the full text may be obtained by writing:* University of Pennsylvania Law Review, *3400 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19104.*

Dear Justice Thomas:

It has been a long time since we talked. I believe it was in 1980 during your first year as a Trustee at Holy Cross College. I was there to receive an honorary degree. You were 31 years old and on the staff of Senator John Danforth. You had not started your meteoric climb through the government and federal judicial hierarchy. Much has changed since then.

At first I thought that I should write you privately--the way one normally corresponds with a colleague or friend. I still feel ambivalent about making this letter public but I do so because your appointment is profoundly important to this country and the world, and because all Americans need to understand the issues you will face on the Supreme Court. In short, Justice Thomas, I write this letter as a public record so that this generation can understand the challenges you face as an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court, and the next can evaluate the choices you have made or will make.

The Supreme Court can be a lonely and insular environment. Eight of the present Justices' lives would not have been very different if the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case had never been decided as it was. Four attended Harvard Law School which did not accept women law students until 1950. Two attended Stanford Law School prior to the time when the first black matriculated there. None have been called a "nigger" or suffered the acute deprivations of poverty. Justice O'Connor is the only other Justice on the Court that at one time was adversely affected by a white male dominated system that often excluded both women and minorities from equal access to the rewards of hard work and talent.

By nominating you to the Supreme Court, President Bush has suddenly vested in you the option to preserve or dilute the gains this country has made in the struggle for equality. This is a grave responsibility indeed. In order to discharge it you will need to recognize what James Baldwin called the *force of history* within you. You will need to recognize that both your public life and your private life reflect this country's history in the area of racial discrimination and civil rights. And, while much has been said about your admirable determination to overcome terrible obstacles, it is also important to remember how you arrived where you are now, because you did not get there by yourself.

When I think of your appointment to the Supreme Court, I see not only the result of your own ambition, but also the culmination of years of heartbreaking work by thousands who preceded you. I know you may not want to be burdened by the memory of their sacrifices. But I also know that you have no right to forget that history. Your life is very different from what it would have been had these men and women never lived.

The Impact of Civil Rights Organizations and Lawyers on Your Life

During the time when the civil rights organizations were challenging the Reagan administration, I was frankly dismayed by some of your responses and your denigrations of civil rights organizations. In 1984, the *Washington Post* reported you as criticizing traditional civil rights leaders because instead of trying to reshape the Reagan administration policies they had gone to the news media to "bitch, bitch, bitch, moan and moan, whine and whine." If that is still your assessment of these civil rights organizations or their leaders, I suggest, Justice Thomas, that you should ask yourself every day what would have happened to you if there had never been a Charles Hamilton Houston, a William Henry Hastie, a Thurgood Marshall, and that small cadre of other lawyers associated with them, who set the groundwork for success in the twentieth century racial civil rights cases?....If there had never been an effective NAACP, isn't it highly probable that you might still be in Pin Point, Georgia, working as a laborer as some of your relatives did for decades?

If the NAACP had not been picketing, protesting, and politicking for a 1964 Civil Rights Act, would Monsanto Chemical Company have opened their doors to you in 1977? If Title VII had not been enacted, might not American companies still continue to discriminate on the basis of race, gender and national origin?

The struggles of civil rights organizations and civil rights lawyers have been both moral and physical, and their victories have been neither easy nor sudden. Though the *Brown* decision was issued only six years after your birth, the road to *Brown* started more than a century earlier. It started when Prudence Crandall was arrested in

(Continued on page 4)

Higginbotham

(Continued from page 3)

Connecticut in 1833 for attempting to provide schooling for colored girls. It was continued in 1849 when Charles Sumner, a white lawyer and abolitionist, and Benjamin Roberts, a black lawyer, challenged segregated schools in Boston. It continued in *Sweatt* v. *Texas* when in 1946 Heman Sweatt filed suit for admission to the Law School of the University of Texas and his application was rejected solely because he was black. Rather than admit him, the university postponed the matter for years and put up a separate and unaccredited law school for blacks. The road to *Brown* continued further in a series of cases against the University of Oklahoma, when in 1950 in *McLaurin* v. *Oklahoma*, G. W. McLaurin, a 68-year-old man, applied to the University of Oklahoma to obtain a doctorate in education. He was "required to sit apart at a designated desk in an anteroom adjoining the classroom, to sit at a designated desk on the mezzanine floor of the library...and to sit at a designated table and to eat at a different time from the other students in the school cafeteria."

The significance of the victory in the *Brown* case cannot be overstated. *Brown* changed the moral tone of America; by eliminating the legitimization of state-imposed racism it implicitly questioned racism wherever it was used. It created a milieu in which private colleges were forced to recognize their failures in excluding or not welcoming minority students. I submit that even Holy Cross, your distinguished undergraduate college, and Yale University were influenced by the milieu created by *Brown* and thus became more sensitive to creating programs for the recruitment of competent minority students. In short, isn't it possible that you might not have gone to Holy Cross if the NAACP and other civil rights organizations, Martin Luther King and the Supreme Court, had not recast the racial mores of America? And if you had not gone to Holy Cross, and instead had gone to some underfunded state college for Negroes in Georgia, would you have been admitted to Yale Law School and would you have met the alumni who played such a prominent role in maximizing your professional options?

What Have Conservatives Ever Contributed to African-Americans?

During the last ten years, you have often described yourself as a black conservative. I must confess that, other than their own self-advancement, I am at a loss to understand what it is that the so-called black conservatives are so anxious to conserve. Now that you no longer have to be outspoken on their behalf, perhaps you will recognize that in the past it was the white "conservatives" who screamed "segregation now, segregation forever!"

It was primarily the conservatives who attacked the Warren Court relentlessly because of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and who stood in the way of almost every measure to ensure gender and racial advancement. For example, on March 11, 1956, ninety-six members of Congress, representing eleven southern states, issued the "Southern Manifesto" in which they declared that the decision was an "unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution." Ironically, those members of Congress reasoned that the *Brown* decision was "destroying the amicable relations between the white and negro races".... They then pledged to use all lawful means to bring about the reversal of the decision, and praised those states which had declared the intention to resist implementation of the *Brown* decision....Where were the conservatives in the 1950s when the cause of equal rights needed every fair-minded voice it could find?

In the 1960s, it was the conservatives, including the then senatorial candidate from Texas, George Bush, the then governor from California, Ronald Reagan, and the omnipresent Senator Strom Thurmond, who argued that the 1964 Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional. In fact Senator Thurmond's 24-hour-18-minute filibuster during Senate deliberations on the 1957 Civil Rights Act set an all-time record. He argued on the floor of the Senate that the provisions of the Act guaranteeing equal access to public accommodations amounted to an enslavement of white people. If 27 years ago George Bush, Ronald Reagan and Strom Thurmond had succeeded, there would have been no position for you to fill as Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights in the Department of Education. There would have been no agency such as the Equal Employment Commission for you to chair.

If, in 1954, the United States Supreme Court had accepted the traditional rationale that so many conservatives then espoused, would the 1896 *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* case, which announced the nefarious doctrine of "separate but equal" but which allowed massive inequalities, still be the law of the land?

Housing and Privacy

If you are willing, Justice Thomas, to consider how the history of civil rights in this country has shaped your public life, then imagine for a moment how it has affected your private life....In1912, Virginia enacted a statute giving cities and towns the right to pass ordinances that would divide their municipalities into segregated districts for black and white residents. Segregated districts were designated white or black depending on the race of the majority of the residents. It became a crime for any black person to move into and occupy residence in an area known as a white district. Similarly it was a crime for any white person to move into a black district.

If Virginia's law of 1912 still prevailed, and if your community passed laws similar to the former ordinances of Richmond and Ashland, you would not be able to live in your own house in Virginia. Fortunately, the Virginia ordinances and statutes were in effect nullified by a case brought by the NAACP in 1915 where a similar statute of the City of Louisville was declared unconstitutional.

(Continued on back page)

April 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- Supreme Court makes it easier for jurisdictions to discontinue court-ordered school desegregation programs.
- Former U.S. envoy to South Africa Edward Perkins is appointed ambassador to United Nations.
- A New York Assemblywoman introduces bill calling for Black History Year in 1993.
- Sixteen Democratic presidential primaries and caucuses remain.
- **Across the Nation** looks at elections in new majority-black Congressional districts in North Carolina and Virginia. Dallas State Senator Eddie Bernice Johnson is headed for Washington.

Supreme Court Ruling Eases Court-Ordered Desegregation

On March 31 the U.S. Supreme Court issued a ruling easing judicial supervision of court-ordered desegregation. While the decision does not require lower courts to release schools from desegregation plans, it grants them wider latitude to do so. Some court watchers believe the decision signals an imminent return to segregated schools.

In *Freeman* v. *Pitts*, the Dekalb County (Georgia) school system sought relief from its 1969 desegregation court order, claiming that demographic changes and shifts in housing patterns, rather than intentional discrimination, accounted for any remaining racial imbalance in its student population. More than 70 percent of the pupils in the suburban Atlanta school system are minority, compared to six percent when it first came under desegregation orders. More than half of the black students, who live in mainly black neighborhoods in southern Dekalb County, attend predominantly black schools. Similarly, over half of the white students, most of whom live in northern Dekalb County, attend predominantly white schools.

In an 8-0 ruling in favor of the school system (Justice **CLARENCE THOMAS** did not vote because he had not been confirmed when the case was heard), the High Court decided that because the schools are not responsible for the demographic changes and housing patterns that have led to racially segregated student populations, they could not be held responsible for correcting such racial imbalances.

The ruling reversed and remanded to the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals a 1989 decision of that court. That decision had refused to release the school system from any portion of its 1969 desegregation order until integration had been achieved in six areas: student assignment, transportation, teacher and administration allotment, allocation of resources, quality of facilities, and extracurricular activities.

The majority opinion, written by Justice **ANTHONY KENNEDY** and joined by Chief Justice **WILLIAM REHNQUIST** and justices **ANTONIN SCALIA**, **DAVID SOUTER**, and **BYRON WHITE**, permits district courts to withdraw judicial supervision piecemeal as compliance with a court-imposed desegregation plan is achieved in each area. In the case of Dekalb county, this means the school system can discontinue busing if the lower court determines that desegregation with respect to student assignment has been achieved, while continuing to adhere to court mandates in other areas.

Five concurrences were filed that suggest there is "disagreement among the justices on the issue," according to **GARY ORFIELD**, professor of education and social policy at Harvard University and an authority on school desegregation. Justices Scalia and Souter concurred in the majority opinion and Justice **HARRY BLACKMUN**, in what sounds like a dissent, filed a concurring opinion that was signed by justices **SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR** and

JOHN PAUL STEVENS. The Blackmun concurrence questioned whether the school board might not have "created or contributed to" the racially identifiable schools, saying that "what might seem to be purely private preferences in housing may in fact have been created in part by actions of the school districts." With that in mind Blackmun said the district court should more closely examine the school district's actions and influence on residential segregation.

Justice Souter's concurrence suggested that he recognized a link between school desegregation and housing patterns and that the relationship should be taken into account when considering desegregation supervision. Pointing to the use of portable classrooms (trailers) in southern Dekalb County schools, which are predominantly black, Souter noted that discriminatory factors in the provisions of neighborhood schools may cause parents to make residential choices. He wrote that the "vestige of discrimination in one factor may serve as incubator for resegregation in others."

JANELL BYRD, an attorney in the Washington, D.C., office of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, is cautious in her reaction to the ruling. She points out that the decision does not totally eliminate desegregation because "the concept of school desegregation is still intact; school systems are still required to adhere to other factors of court ordered mandates." However, she adds, the high Court's second conservative ruling in as many years on court-supervised desegregation is reason for concern. (In January 1991, the court outlined conditions for an end to such supervision in *Board of Education of Oklahoma City* v. *Dowell*. See February 1991 *FOCUS*.)

Orfield says the Freeman decision is not a clarion call for rapid resegregation, but he predicts that it will spur more school systems to seek release from their court orders. He says although the Court made it easier to opt out, lawyers may not be eager to pursue release because the decision does not force district judges to dismantle desegregation plans. Orfield believes the presence of conservative judges appointed by former President **RONALD REAGAN** and President **GEORGE BUSH** will determine the future, because the decision gives a tremendous amount of power to lower district court judges. "This is taking the issue of integration back into politics," said Orfield. He offered this prognosis: "There will eventually be resegregation. It won't happen fast; but it will happen."

Former Envoy to South Africa Tapped for U.N. Ambassadorship

EDWARD JOSEPH PERKINS, the first black person to serve as United States ambassador to South Africa, was nominated by President Bush in February and confirmed by the U.S. Senate on April 2 as the United States representative to the United Nations. Perkins will replace **THOMAS PICKERING** who was named ambassador to India.

Perkins' nomination as ambassador to South Africa in 1986 by president Reagan came at a time when the U.S. government was divided over what direction its policy on South Africa should take. Congress adopted a don't-do-business-with-them stance against the apartheid government, and backed that up with stiff economic sanctions legislation passed over Reagan's veto. The Administration, on the other hand, not only vetoed sanctions legislation, but also advocated "constructive engagement" to encourage change in South Africa through continued trade and polite persuasion.

Perkins' appointment was viewed warily in some circles where it was argued that because of South Africa's racial history, a black person could not be effective in the role. Former U.S. ambassador to Senegal **WALTER CARRINGTON** says Perkins' performance in the post, which he held from 1986 to 1989, won over his harshest critics and the nay-sayers. Perkins established productive relationships with white South Africans and broke new diplomatic ground in reaching out to South Africa's black community, cultivating meaningful relationships, and even attending the trials of some South African dissidents.

A 64-year-old Louisiana native, Perkins holds a Ph.D. in public policy from the University of Southern California. He began his diplomatic career in 1966 as an intern with the Agency for International Development. From there he moved on to hold several distinguished positions, including counselor for political affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Ghana, 1978-1981; deputy chief of missions at the U.S. Embassy in Liberia, 1981-1983; director of the Office of West African Affairs in the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs, 1983-1985; ambassador to

Liberia, 1985-1986; and director general of the Foreign Service and director of personnel at the State Department since 1989. Perkins is scheduled to assume his office on May 13.

Bill Seeks to Proclaim 1993 Black History Year

New York state assemblywoman **GERALDINE L. DANIELS**, a Democrat representing Harlem's 70th assembly district, is spearheading a drive to declare 1993 "Black History Year," commemorating 130 years since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Daniels, who chairs the assembly's majority Democratic conference, has introduced legislation to that effect in the state assembly and is urging black elected officials at the federal, state and municipal levels to do likewise. A commemorative measure supported by the state's black caucus, the legislation does not require any outlay of government funds.

Daniels says her proposal would enable black Americans to reflect on their past and current achievements and "chart a course for the survival and progress of black Americans for the next 130 years....We must face the future with a plan that will benefit our African-American children." The assemblywoman hopes that black churches and organizations will adopt similar resolutions and plan year-long events for their communities. She will be encouraging corporations and advertising agencies to work with the black print media and broadcast outlets in planning special editions and programs during the year.

Schedule of Remaining Democratic Presidential Primaries

Date	State	Caucus/Primary	# of Delegates*
April 28	Pennsylvania	Primary	169
May 3	Guam	Caucus	3
May 5	District of Columbia	Primary	17
	Indiana	Primary	77
	North Carolina	Primary	84
May 12	Nebraska	Primary	25
	West Virginia	Primary	31
May 19	Oregon	Primary	47
May 26	Arkansas	Primary	36
	Kentucky	Primary	52
June 2	Alabama	Primary	55
	California	Primary	348
	Montana	Primary	16
	New Jersey	Primary	105
	New Mexico	Primary	25
	Ohio	Primary	151
TOTAL			1,241

As of April 20, the standings in the delegate race were as follows:

Bill Clinton	1,269
Paul Tsongas	535
Jerry Brown	288

* 2,145 delegates are needed to win the Democratic nomination.

Across The Nation

NORTH CAROLINA: Congressional redistricting in the Tarheel state has created two majority-black districts. The 12th congressional district, dubbed I-85, represents a stretch of territory along that interstate from Durham to Charlotte. In this race, Greensboro city council member **EARL JONES**, former Winston-Salem alderman **LARRY D. LITTLE**, Durham state representative **HENRY M. "MICKEY" MICHAUX, JR**., and former Charlotte state senator **MELVIN WATT** make up the slate for the Democratic nomination in the May 5 primary. Michaux and Watt enjoy the strongest name recognition and many analysts see this contest as a two-way race between them. Michaux, a senior partner in his own law firm, is serving his seventh term in the state house. He is a former U.S. attorney for the middle district of North Carolina, a position to which he was appointed in 1977 by President **JIMMY CARTER**.

Watt, also an attorney, served two years as a state senator (1984-1986), completing the unexpired term of black state senator **PHIL BERRY**, who died in office. He opted not to run for a full term in 1986 in order to spend more time with his family. Watt served as campaign manager for Charlotte architect and former mayor **HARVEY GANTT**'s successful bids for city council, mayor, and his unsuccessful U.S. Senate race against incumbent **JESSE HELMS**.

The Republican field for the 12th district includes three black candidates: former Guildford County clerk of the court **BARBARA GORE WASHINGTON** of Greensboro; assistant secretary of state of human resources **GEORGE JONES, SR**. of Raleigh; and **O.C. STAFFORD**, a computer analyst and real estate agent from Greensboro. According to a spokesperson with the National Republican Committee, the GOP is "pushing" Washington's candidacy, but no Republican nominee is expected to fare well in this Democratic district in the general election.

Seven Democratic hopefuls are vying for the state's other majority-black seat representing the 1st congressional district. The black contestants seeking the new Fayetteville and Wilmington area seat are: former Warren County commissioner **EVA CLAYTON** of Littleton; attorney and three-term state representative **THOMAS HARDAWAY** of Enfield; **STACCATO POWELL**, a Methodist minister from Wilson; and **WILLIE RIDDICK**, a former staffer in the district office of retiring incumbent congressman **WALTER JONES, SR**. The white contenders are Stokes businessman **DON SMITH**; Windsor mayor **TOM BRANDON III**; and **WALTER B. JONES, JR**., of Farmville, a five-term state representative and son of the congressman. Among the black candidates, Clayton and Riddick have the highest name recognition and both have been active in local politics for several years. Clayton was a county commissioner for eight years and assistant secretary of the state's Department of Natural Resources and Community Development for four years. Riddick served in Congressman Jones' office for more than 10 years, and he is a former member of the state's Democratic Executive Council and Executive Committee.

Blacks in the district are concerned that low black voter turnout, together with the possibility of splitting the black vote in the large field of candidates, may jeopardize the chances for a black contender to win. Those two factors could work to the benefit of Jones, the most experienced and best known of the white candidates, who only needs 40 percent of the vote to win. The anticipated scenario is a runoff between Jones and Riddick or Clayton. Should that occur, black residents would have to defy their low-turnout history to deliver the victory to a black candidate.

TEXAS: Democratic state senator **EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON** sailed to an expected victory in the March 10 Democratic Congressional primary for the newly created majority black 30th district seat (Dallas). Johnson received 91 percent of the vote over her opponent, black businessman **ADOLPH HAUNTZ**. In the general election in November she will face black Republican **LUCY CAIN**, a 44-year-old salesperson for AT&T, who defeated photographer **KEVIN MALONE** for her party's nomination. Johnson is expected to win in November in the heavily Democratic district.

VIRGINIA: Black candidates are seeking both the Democratic and the Republican nominations for the state's new 64 percent black 3rd congressional district seat, which stretches from Richmond to portions of the state's Tidewater cities of Norfolk, Petersburg, Newport News, Portsmouth, and Hampton. The four Democratic hopefuls are **ROBERT C. "BOBBY" SCOTT**, an attorney from Newport News who entered the general assembly in 1978 as a delegate and has been a state senator since 1982; four-term state delegate **JEAN CUNNINGHAM**; **JACQUELYN EPPS**, a Richmond attorney and past chair of the old 3rd district Democratic party; and **JOE FLEMMING**, a Portsmouth Baptist minister.

The Republican contenders are **FREEMAN McCULLERS**, a Richmond bail bondsman, and Richmond businessman **DAN JENKINS**. Jenkins has served as a Republican state central committeeman and is currently chairman of the Black Republican Caucus of Virginia; he is expected to win his party's nomination over McCullers, who has acknowledged voting for both parties through the years. The Republicans will choose their nominee at a May 16 convention, while the Democratic candidate will be chosen in the June 9 primary. According to a state Democratic official, there is no clear front-runner at this point since Cunningham, Epps, and Scott all enjoy high name recognition.

Training Tomorrow's Black Scientists

Philanthropist Supports a University of Maryland Program to Prepare Black Students for Graduate Study in the Sciences

by Wiley A. Hall, 3rd

For decades, historically black colleges and universities took the best and the brightest African-American students and nurtured them, molded them, and instilled in them an overwhelming sense of mission and pride. And for decades, this formula produced the best and the brightest African-American leaders. Now the University of Maryland at Baltimore (UMBC), a research institution in suburban Baltimore with a predominantly white faculty and student body, is using that same formula to improve its academic programs for black students.

UMBC is a 25-year-old, highly regarded public university with about 10,300 graduate and undergraduate students. The school has earned a national reputation in biotechnological research and biochemistry. Last year, a third of UMBC's undergraduate students went on to professional and graduate schools—the highest such percentage among public colleges and universities in Maryland.

In 1988, UMBC launched the Meyerhoff Scholarship program by providing full academic scholarships to 19 African-American men who had excelled in math and science in high school. The school's initial goal was threefold: to take successful young high school students and turn them into successful college students; to reverse the decline of black men in the sciences; and ultimately, to create a determined, talented crop of Ph.D.s in science and math who would be role models for generations to come.

The need for the program is clear. Currently, approximately 13 percent of UMBC's undergraduates and five percent of graduate school students are African-Americans. The overwhelming majority of both the graduate and undergraduate degrees awarded to African Americans during the 1980s were in either the humanities or business fields.

Creating Role Models

The scholarship program owes its origins and much of its success to the efforts of two men, Robert E. Meyerhoff, a wealthy developer and philanthropist who was trained as an engineer at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Dr. Freeman A. Hrabowski III, executive vice president of UMBC and the second-highest ranking administrator at the institution, the first African-American to hold that position. Meyerhoff is a member of a prominent Maryland family well known for supporting the arts in Baltimore, including principal funding for Meyerhoff Hall, the home of the Baltimore Symphony.

Initially, Meyerhoff wanted to find a way to boost the general achievement of African-American males whose overall academic performance had been poor to average. But Hrabowski and Meyerhoff looked at math and science majors at UMBC and on campuses across the country, and found that even the promising students—both black and white—were not doing well. Hrabowski noted, for instance, that his survey of the past performances of bright African-American students at UMBC with high school academic records similar to the Meyerhoff scholars revealed that many had "bled out" of the sciences. "Many black students entering UMBC couldn't handle the math," says Hrabowski. "They would get one poor grade, get discouraged, and change their majors to business or the social sciences."

"This is particularly true for black students on a majority white campus," Hrabowski says. "Black students have to deal with a heightened sense of alienation." Most campuses have few black faculty, and many black students come from school systems where the level of academic competition is low. They are so used to being the best and the brightest in their schools that in many cases they come unprepared for the academic rigor that is required.

According to Hrabowski, the challenges were: how many can we keep in math and the sciences; how many can we keep above a B average; and how many can we keep enthusiastic enough to want to pursue an advanced degree in graduate school?

Dramatic Results

"Frankly," said Hrabowski, "when I looked at all of that, I had hoped to see maybe half of the original 19 succeed." Not only are the original 19 still in the program, but after three years, there are now 70 Meyerhoff scholars, 25 of them women. All 70 students have remained in a math or science program and all have maintained at least a B average. Among the majors pursued by the scholars are chemistry, engineering, computer science, biotechnology, and pre-medicine. The top student, Ahmad Ridley, had maintained a 4.0 average as he entered his junior year. UMBC officials expect 12 of the first 19 scholars to go on to graduate school when they finish. The other seven either are undecided at this point or are leaning toward employment in science- or engineering-related fields.

The scholars come from a range of backgrounds. About half come from homes with college-educated parents, while the other half will be the first in their families to obtain a college degree. The students come from both the

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Mr. Hall is a columnist with the *Baltimore Sun* newspaper.

Training

(Continued from page 5)

suburbs and the inner city and from both single- and two-parent households. A significant number were either the oldest child in their family or the only child. They tended to have read more than average and they came from families that emphasized strong personal values.

The school works to get the students on track right from the start. Freshman scholars are brought onto campus for a six-week summer preparatory session where they get to know each other, the faculty, and their academic advisors. During this period, they are required to take an introductory course in African-American studies so that they are not made to feel that this aspect of their identity is unimportant. They also attend cultural events, such as plays and concerts, and meet with black community and political leaders. Throughout their academic career, the scholars meet to see how working as a team can help those with special needs. "Students who are successful have the responsibility of working with students who are having problems," notes Hrabowski. "The failure of one is seen as the failure of all."

> "Students who are successful have the responsibility of working with students who are having problems....The failure of one is seen as the failure of all."

One student admitted that she had become involved in too many extracurricular activities to the detriment of her grades. She and her group discussed which activities were important and which she could drop. Her grades improved markedly the following semester. Other students tend to underestimate the academic rigors they will face in planning their courses. Counselors note a tendency for students to prematurely enroll in advanced placement mathematics courses, or to overload their schedules with too many demanding courses. The emphasis on the group and on teamwork makes it easier for students to confront these issues, regroup, and improve.

"I like the fact that they introduced us to our professors and other people we could go to if we needed help," says Ahmad Ridley, who plans to pursue a Ph.D. in mathematics. "I think that made a difference. It made us feel more like a part of the campus."

Eric Brown, an interdisciplinary major in chemistry and history who attended a predominantly white high school in Pasadena, Maryland, says he was most excited and surprised by the prospect of working with other talented African-American males. "In high school," he says, "I got along with most people. I wasn't ostracized or anything, but I still felt alone, like I was struggling against the odds.... Then you go to this program and see a group of black men just like you, with the same energy level, the same sense of excitement, and you just say, 'Wow! There's still hope out there.' It was almost like spontaneous combustion."

While the initial support for the program came from Meyerhoff's personal fortune, corporations, such as American Telephone and Telegraph, Inc., and Apple Computers Inc., and government agencies such as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the National Security Agency, have rushed to support the Meyerhoff Scholarship program to such a degree that the university has been able to establish a $1 million endowment.

The program has even inspired the mother of sophomore Aliceson King to enter the program. Carolyn King, who has a masters degree in engineering from Loyola University, is now seeking a Ph.D. at UMBC in computer science. King says that although she had been thinking about going back for a doctorate for some time, her daughter's experiences at UMBC made her decide to choose that school. She's been dubbed the school's first "super-Meyerhoff" scholar. King, who is president of a newly formed parents' support group for the Meyerhoff scholars, says the program nurtures the students and cultivates a sense of togetherness and belonging to UMBC that other campuses don't provide.

A Critical Mass of Black Scientists

By next fall, there will be over 100 Meyerhoff scholars on campus. Before this program, the university graduated a total of seven black students in math and science over a 10-year period. "We are to the point where I can see this university taking a substantial step toward increasing the pool of black professionals in science and engineering," Hrabowski notes. In 1988, African-American men and women earned a total of 231 Ph.D.s in science and engineering nationwide (less than two percent of the total).

Hrabowski says the program has been useful for the other students and faculty at UMBC to see talented black students, especially black males, doing so well in chemistry and calculus. "If you haven't seen it before, you don't really believe on a gut level that it can happen." As for their success at UMBC, the scholars themselves say the most important factor was that they felt connected both to the university and to each other.

Other universities have adopted features of the Meyerhoff program. But some educators note that the kind of intense commitment needed to duplicate the program in full is missing on most campuses. Few schools can boast of an African-American administrator who has a position as high as Hrabowski's. And few enjoy a wealthy benefactor with the kind of interest in the issue that Meyerhoff has shown.

But Hrabowski dismisses the notion that the success of UMBC's program is personality-driven. "It is an institutional commitment," he says. "The needs of the nation's work force in which white males are expected to become the minority through the early part of the next century leave universities no other choice but to make this kind of commitment now." ■

Black Philanthropy: Centuries of Self-Help

A Forthcoming Joint Center Book Illustrates How Black Institutions Have Been on the Cutting Edge of Social Progress in America

This article was adapted from portions of A Hand Up: Black Philanthropy and Self-Help in America *by Emmett D. Carson, former research associate at the Joint Center and now program officer at the Ford Foundation. The publication will be released this summer.*

Black philanthropy in America is a rich tradition that dates back to colonial days, yet much of that tradition remains unseen and unheralded. Ignorance about this history has prompted accusations from some quarters that the black community is not doing its fair share and exhortations to African Americans to "help their own." Yet, humanitarian activity by blacks on behalf of their own has remained central to African-American culture—and to its survival—for more than two centuries.

The foundations for black philanthropy were laid during the colonial period with the establishment of black churches. These churches often built mutual aid societies or fraternal organizations to address the social and material needs of parishioners and the larger community.

Such aid societies operated out of view of the white society—for good reason. By 1723, Maryland laws restricted independent religious meetings by blacks. This situation did not change when our nation won independence. By 1835, slave states including Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina banned black social and fraternal organizations.

Education, denied to slaves by law, was a special concern. The New York African Society for Mutual Relief, founded in 1808, established New York City's first black grammar school. Black literary societies became widespread by the beginning of the nineteenth century, making books and libraries available to the black reader.

The Underground Railroad

The 1860 U.S. Census recorded that more than 90 percent of the four million blacks in the South were slaves. Slavery and the response of blacks and whites to it defined a new direction for black philanthropy: social change. Initiated around 1804 and operating until the outbreak of the Civil War, the Underground Railroad helped about 100,000 slaves to escape from the South and then to cope with the hostile conditions they met elsewhere. It carried out national and international fund-raising campaigns, and black business people were among those who regularly contributed time and money. Both blacks and whites served as volunteer "conductors" on this railroad of escape, and offered their homes as stations.

In the late 1800s, black churches established a large number of elementary schools, high schools, and colleges. Between 1800 and 1900, the African Methodist Episcopal church alone allocated over one million dollars to help maintain its 20 colleges and universities. In 1908, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society established 23 black institutions of higher education.

A Debate About Directions

At the turn of the century two powerful thinkers, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, engaged in a national debate on achieveing black progress. Washington, an ex-slave and the president of Tuskegee Institute, saw self-improvement and vocational training as primary avenues. Numerous organizations were formed to put his philosophy into practice. The Farmer's Improvement Society of Texas, for example, was founded to help rural blacks obtain housing as well as health and life insurance and to help extricate themselves from sharecropping.

Du Bois, a Harvard Ph.D., focused his appeal for action on the "talented tenth," the growing cadre of educated blacks, urging them to wage a direct assault on the segregation and peonage blacks then faced, including their nearly total disenfranchisement from the political process. Out of the new commitment to social change emerged the NAACP, which Du Bois helped to found in 1909, and what is today the National Urban League, first organized in 1910.

The overriding goal of black philanthropy, through these organizations, came to be seen as the elimination of segregation. In 1941, as the nation entered the Second World War, black Americans decried segregation in the defense industry. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, informed President Roosevelt that unless the he outlawed discrimination in defense industries and the federal government, Randolph would lead a march of 100,000 blacks on Washington. Roosevelt responded by issuing Executive Order 8802.

After the 1960s, blacks developed more institutional mechanisms for charitable giving, including black foundations and private philanthropy by wealthy blacks. Black-oriented federated fundraising organizations opened new opportunities for individual giving by non-wealthy blacks. In 1973, the four-year-old United Black Fund of Washington became the first black charitable federation included in Washington's Combined Federal Campaign, an annual fund drive held at federal government worksites. Several similar federations are located around the country.

Black philanthropy is a tapestry of compassion, self-help, and hard work that is still being woven today. With crossthreads formed of centuries of tradition and creative responses to emerging needs, black philanthropy reflects a longstanding commitment by black Americans to improving the lives of their brothers, sisters, and selves. ■

Higginbotham

(Continued from page 4)

Had you overcome all of those barriers to housing and if you and your present wife decided that you wanted to reside in Virginia, you would nonetheless have been violating the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which the Virginia Supreme Court as late as 1966 said was consistent with the federal constitution, because of the overriding state interest in the institution of marriage. Although it was four years after the *Brown* case, Richard Perry Loving and his wife, Mildred Jeter Loving, were convicted in 1958 and originally sentenced to one year in jail because of their interracial marriage. As an act of magnanimity the trial court later suspended the sentences with the provision that the couple leave the state not to return for 25 years.

If the Virginia courts had been sustained by the United States Supreme Court in 1966 and if, after your marriage, you and your wife had, like the Lovings, defied the Virginia statute by continuing to live in your present residence, you could have been in the penitentiary today rather than serving as a Justice on the United States Supreme Court.

Conclusion

This Letter may imply that I am somewhat skeptical as to what your performance will be as a Supreme court Justice. Candidly, I and many other thoughtful Americans are very concerned about your appointment to the Supreme Court.

I am sixty-three years old. In my lifetime I have seen African-Americans denied the right to vote, the opportunities to a proper education, to work and to live where they choose. I have seen and *known* segregation. But I have also seen the decision in *Brown* rendered. I have seen the first African-American sit on the Supreme Court. And I have seen brave and courageous people, black and white, give their lives for the civil rights cause. My memory of them has always been without bitterness or nostalgia. But today it is sometimes without hope; for I wonder whether their magnificent achievements are in jeopardy. I wonder whether (and how far) the majority of the Supreme Court will continue to retreat from protecting the rights of the poor, women, the disadvantaged, minorities and the powerless. And if, tragically, it does continue, I wonder whether you Justice Thomas, an African-American, will be part of that majority.

No one would be happier than I if the record you will establish on the Supreme Court in years to come demonstrates that my apprehensions were unfounded. You were born into injustice tempered by the hard reality of what it means to be poor and black in America, and especially to be poor because you are black. You have found a door newly cracked open and you have escaped. I trust you shall not forget that many who preceded you and many who follow you have found, and will find, the door of equal opportunity slammed in their faces through no fault of their own. And I also know that time and the tides of history often call out of men and women qualities that even they did not know lay within them. And so, with hope to balance my apprehensions, I wish you well as a thoughtful and worthy successor to Justice Marshall in the ever ongoing struggle to assure equal justice under law for all persons.

Sincerely

A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
Chief Judge Emeritus, U.S. Court of Appeals
for the Third Circuit

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Volume 20, No. 5 May 1992

R5685-4

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The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

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Sitting on a Fault, Waiting for Disaster

When four white police officers delivered more than 50 blows of their nightsticks to one unarmed, defenseless black man, they dealt a crippling blow to the black community's faith in the law enforcement system. Despite black Americans' horror at the videotaped scene of violence, they trusted the nation's justice system to right the wrong that had been done. The acquittal verdict from a panel of jurors in Simi Valley, California expanded the assault on King and shattered an entire nation's faith in justice. That verdict sends two unfortunate messages: For those who wear the uniform of the law, the message is that anything goes; for those whose only badge is their skin color, the message is that justice from the police and the courts is not always forthcoming.

The violence done to Rodney King on the street and in the courtroom triggered a disastrous and unforgivable conflagration. Disasters are not uncommon in Los Angeles—floods, mud slides, brush fires, and, since much of the city lies on a massive underground fault, earthquakes are frequent if unwelcome visitors. While these natural disasters cause damage and somtimes claim lives, they are seldom as costly in human life or property as the riots in South-Central Los Angeles.

The greatest tragedy of all is that we are asking ourselves the same questions that were asked in the aftermath of the Watts riot a quarter of a century ago: What caused the riots? What can be done to prevent this from happening again? Ironically, the answers are the same now as they were then. The underlying causes of the riots were racial alienation, poverty, unemployment, neglect, and hopelessness. Sadly, these conditions still exist in many urban communities. What is most alarming is that from political and business leaders down to ordinary citizens, the social and economic problems that form preconditions for civil unrest are too often viewed as some massive underground fault that can't be fixed. The truth is that man-made disasters, unlike natural disasters such as earthquakes, can be anticipated and prevented!

But vision, leadership, and action are required in equal amounts. Also, in the near term, there must be a full investigation of the growing crisis of unequal justice in America. Confidence that justice is for all Americans must be restored. Meanwhile, most Americans must be about the business of healing this nation's deep racial and ethnic divides. Our public policies must have both moral force and the financial clout to address real problems. We must fully reinvest in time tested and effective programs that work like Head Start, compensatory education programs, the Job Corps, pre-natal care, and child nutrition. Other proposals are on the table such as trading college tuition for community service, raising teachers' pay, and enterprise zones with provisions to provide venture capital to minority entrepreneurs. Bipartisan leadership is needed, and those who are the victims of the urban crisis must be invited to help determine the solutions to the crisis. It should now be painfully clear that if we neglect front end needs, we will be manufacturing future disasters with costly back end results. We must not go through another 25 years sitting on a fault and waiting for another disaster to happen. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Playing the Race Card

The Racially Motivated Policies of Some Presidents Have Deprived Blacks of Full Equality and Social Justice

by David C. Ruffin

The Rodney King trial and its aftermath should serve as a reminder to the nation's leadership that we neglect at our peril the continuing exclusion of minorities from full participation in this society. America's ugliest traditions—racism, ethnic hatred, and cultural intolerance—have been prominent and destructive forces in our society since the founding of our democracy.

Americans of color—black, red, yellow, and brown, many of them still victims of racially motivated abuse and violence—have always struggled for true equality and fair treatment. Yet efforts by the nation's leaders to include non-whites as full citizens into the American enterprise have been relatively recent and inconsistent. How this tragic legacy of racism has played out in national politics can be seen through a brief review of the relationship between black Americans and U.S. presidents.

Turning a Blind Eye to Lynching

In the 19th century, proponents of slavery and abolition waged political battles that frequently spilled over into electoral politics and culminated in the presidential campaign of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. As the North and South were locked in the Civil War, Lincoln's initial goal was to restore the Union even at the cost of continuing slavery. As the war dragged on, he freed the slaves both out of magnanimity and to deprive the South of their labor. The Emancipation Proclamation and the postwar constitutional amendments that granted blacks full citizenship rights turned the newly enfranchised African-American voters into devoted supporters of the GOP, the "Party of Lincoln."

Despite their mandated freedoms, blacks were relegated to second class citizenship throughout the Reconstruction era, and became the targets of vicious attacks by white mobs. According to W.E.B. Du Bois, 1,700 black people were lynched in America between 1885 and 1894. Such atrocities continued into this century, but Republican presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft turned a blind eye to the violence.

By the time of the presidential election in 1912, the relationship between blacks and the GOP was wearing thin. That year, leaders of the African Zion Church, aware that blacks were handicapped by keeping all of their political eggs in one basket, moved to expand their options. They enlisted the help of Du Bois, then editor of the influential *Crisis* magazine, in support of the candidacy of Democrat Woodrow Wilson. In exchange, Wilson expressed his "earnest wish to see justice done to the colored people in every matter...." and promised that "they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race." As a result, an estimated 100,000 northern blacks voted for Wilson.

But once in office, the president reneged on his pledge of "fair dealing" with black Americans. In 1915, African-Americans experienced some of the harshest brutality since the end of the Civil War. Wilson refused to take any action to ameliorate black suffering. He even went so far as to issue an executive order to segregate the U.S. Post Office and other federal agencies.

Closing the Citizenship Gap

It was not until Franklin Delano Roosevelt's second election campaign in 1936 that blacks would again attempt to break ranks with the Republican Party in significant numbers. They not only supported a Democrat for president, but indeed, ran for office themselves as Democrats. FDR openly reached out to African-American voters, and as the Great Depression of the '30s wore on, he made good on his promise to extend his New Deal programs to blacks.

However, just before U.S. entry into World War II, FDR had to be pressured to enforce antidiscrimination employment practices in defense industries. In 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a powerful black leader with national influence, threatened to march on Washington at the head of 100,000 black protesters. Roosevelt conceded and issued Executive Order 8802 barring discrimination in defense industries and in the federal government.

Responsiveness by presidents to the nation's racial problems was to reach its zenith in the 1960s. During the 1960 presidential campaign, John F. Kennedy made a public and politically risky telephone call to Coretta Scott King, whose husband Martin Luther King had been arrested and jailed in Atlanta for joining student sit-ins at

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Mr. Ruffin is editor of *FOCUS*.

Race

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segregated restaurants. Occurring in the midst of the volatile national civil rights struggle, JFK's campaign manager and brother, Robert Kennedy, angrily declared that John Kennedy had thrown away any chances for election with his telephone call to Mrs. King. The candidate's political instincts, however, proved to be right. The call sent a strong signal to African-Americans that Kennedy was sympathetic to their quest for civil rights and first-class citizenship. Kennedy went on to defeat Richard Nixon in the election, and shortly after taking office, submitted sweeping civil rights legislation to Congress.

After Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, took up the civil rights agenda and used his power and considerable political skill to move the Civil Rights Act of 1964 through the Congress. The measure was highly controversial because it proposed to end segregation in public accommodations, outlaw employment discrimination, and prohibit bias in federally funded programs.

In the spring of 1964, the House of Representatives passed the Act, H.R. 7152, by a two-thirds majority with 138 Republicans joining 152 Democrats in voting "yea." The Senate passed the measure with an equally strong, bipartisan vote of 73 to 27. Hubert Humphrey, Senate Democratic whip and the bill's floor manager declared, "The purpose of this bill is to close the citizenship gap in this country," adding that,..."America has been weakened because we haven't given full opportunity to all of our people...." Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, the GOP presidential candidate, voted against the Act charging that the bill would "require the creation of a federal police force of mammoth proportions" and engender an "informer psychology" in the work place. But he and his position on the subject were buried in a Johnson election landslide.

The Pendulum Swings Back

In more recent elections, Republican presidential candidates have won the White House sweepstakes, in part, by playing the race card and polarizing the electorate. In 1968, Richard Nixon, referring to riot-torn black communities, vowed to restore "law and order" in a thinly veiled message that, if elected, he would deal harshly with blacks. His "Southern Strategy" was a gesture to white voters in the Old Confederacy that he did not intend to enforce civil rights laws.

Nixon defeated life-long civil rights advocate Hubert Humphrey who, as Johnson's vice president, had the disadvantage of being perceived as acquiescing in the unpopular expansion of the Vietnam War. Although Nixon began his presidency with an attitude of "benign neglect" toward blacks and rarely met with black leaders, his administration was not entirely negative toward black interests. He created the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (now the Minority Business Development Administration) as a part of his "black capitalism" policy. Furthermore, regulations establishing national policy on affirmative action were adopted during his administration. Nevertheless, Nixon's term in office marked a turning point away from the era of a racially progressive presidency.

This decline became even more apparent when contrasted with President Jimmy Carter's single term in office. Carter opened the White House to black leaders, provided funding for social programs established by Johnson, and appointed more than 40 blacks to federal judgeships. However, Carter's policy of opening the government to blacks faded with his unsuccessful bid for re-election.

The presidency of Ronald Reagan was unequivocally hostile to blacks. Part of his strategy in the 1980 election was to bring into the Republican political tent segments of the electorate that were opposed to civil rights and the social programs that had benefitted blacks and other minorities during the 1960s and '70s. Scapegoating blacks as one of the sources of the nation's problems, Reagan wrapped anti-black messages in code words. He reached out to white voters who were tired of "quotas" and "racial preferences" and conjured up images of "welfare queens" ripping off government programs to engage in expensive life styles.

As the GOP kept faith with its new conservative constituency, relations between African-Americans and the White House sunk to their lowest point in over 60 years. Reagan cut funding for social and economic development programs that benefitted the poor, blacks, and other minorities. He took an uncompromising attitude in his opposition to strong civil rights enforcement and attempted to decimate anti-discrimination laws.

Reagan's successor, George Bush, was long perceived to be a moderate in his views on race. But Bush sent a dual message to the country. His "Willie Horton" TV ads during the 1988 campaign reassured the Reagan coalition but left black Americans with a sense of foreboding. Despite this, however, his inaugural pledge to preside over a "kinder and gentler" administration brought hope to many African-Americans. Optimism was buttressed when Bush declared at the Joint Center's 1990 annual dinner that he accepted the challenge of having his administration live up to the "highest ideals of the civil rights movement." Yet his actions as president have been essentially to continue Reagan's policies on race as illustrated by his veto of the Civil Rights Act of 1990, calling it a "quota bill." (Some political observers believed he signed the measure in 1991 partly to avoid appearing to be philosophically aligned with former Klan leader David Duke, then campaigning as a Republican to be governor of Louisiana.)

It remains to be seen whether Bush will alter his policies in light of the Rodney King affair and provide the leadership needed to promote racial and ethnic accord in our multicultural democracy. ■

May 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- The FBI settles claims of discrimination with black agents.
- Charging that the GOP relegates minorities to token status, a black Republican group may spur the party to change through a successful lawsuit.
- Redistricting Update: North Carolina and Louisiana.
- Across the Nation: Congressman Lucien Blackwell holds on in Philadelphia, his colleague Mervyn Dymally of California retires; two black female political figures vie for an L.A. board of supervisors seat; and the son of L. Douglas Wilder is elected to the Virginia House of Delegates.

FBI Settles With Black Agents

In April, after admitting to a pattern of racially disparate employment practices, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agreed to offer compensatory promotions, new assignments, and bonuses to several black agents. Lawyers for the agents called the deal "a fair resolution of vigorously disputed claims." While the agreement does not state that the FBI knowingly allowed racially biased practices to exist, it does acknowledge the existence of unfair policies and practices which may have led to disparities between the treatment of black and white agents. Of the 10,443 agents in the FBI today, 4.9 percent (512) are black; 5.8 percent (609) Hispanic; 1.5 percent (153) Asian; and 0.4 percent (42) Native American.

Last year more than 300 black special agents banded together as a group calling itself BADGE (Black Agents Don't Get Equality) and claimed that agents of their race were often overlooked when it came to upgraded assignments, pay increases, and training for supervisory positions. (See the July 1991 issue of FOCUS, "FBI Chief Discusses Racism, Drug War.") Some asserted that they were often reprimanded when they complained and then purposely passed over for future promotions. The black agents decided to retain attorneys to determine if the FBI had violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits employment discrimination.

BADGE was represented by three legal teams: Arnold & Porter, a Washington-based law firm; the Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; and Kinoy, Taren, Geraghty & Potter, based in Chicago. In an effort to avoid a nasty court battle like the one the Bureau underwent in 1989 when a group of Hispanic agents in Texas filed and won a discrimination lawsuit, FBI Director **WILLIAM S. SESSIONS** ordered internal investigations into BADGE's allegations. After an examination of personnel data and statistical information by both the Bureau's and BADGE's attorneys, the FBI acknowledged the discrepancies.

Several measures will be taken to improve the Bureau's practices. They include: the promotion (with back pay) of six black agents to supervisory positions; the elevation of more black agents into the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams, which are responsible for conducting high-risk missions; restitution for some black agents of passed-over bonuses and awards; and the hiring of outside consultants to assist the Bureau in developing more equitable disciplinary procedures, supervisory training, and career development programs. Remarking on the agreement, Sessions said, "The changes to policy and procedures that have been agreed to will make the FBI a stronger and more cohesive organization and one that is perceived as fairer to all of its employees." FBI officials do not foresee the agreement causing friction between black and white agents. Rather, they view it as beneficial to all personnel.

DAVID SHAFFER, an attorney at Arnold & Porter, says the FBI's measures should be seen as a form of redress for a pattern of past inequitable practices and that these changes should insure fair treatment of black agents in the future. **JOSEPH SELLERS** agrees. A lawyer with the Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Sellers says, "No change in rules can change human behavior immediately. Those who want to discriminate will. We hope the agreement will make it harder to do so and make those who do discriminate readily accountable for any clandestine actions they take."

Black Republicans Claiming GOP Discrimination Win Lawsuit

In an apparent victory for the Freedom Republicans, the black GOP group, a U.S. district court judge ruled on April 7 that the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) must adopt civil rights enforcement regulations that apply to minority participation in political parties. At issue is a lawsuit filed by the group against the FEC because it has refused to invoke Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to compel the Republican Party to include more blacks as presidential convention delegates and as members of its national committee.

The ruling by judge **CHARLES R. RICHEY** means that once the Commission formulates anti-bias rules it can withhold federal funds from a political party proven to discriminate in delegate selection. The decision signaled a ray of hope for the predominantly black New York City-based Freedom Republicans, who claims the Republican National Committee's (RNC) rules governing delegate apportionment and RNC membership lock out minorities.

The Freedom Republicans charge that the RNC relegates the party's racial and ethnic auxiliary groups to "ornamental quotas" with no real power. Currently only three (all from the U.S. Virgin Islands) of the 165 RNC members are black. (See January TrendLetter). At the 1988 Republican convention, black delegates were just three percent of the 2,277 total. This minimal black participation led the Freedom Republicans to lodge a formal complaint with the Commission in December. The FEC dismissed the complaint, claiming it lacked jurisdiction and that Title VI does not apply to the funding of political conventions because it would violate the First Amendment protection of freedom of assembly. So in January the Freedom Republicans filed their suit. Finding in favor of the group, Judge Richey's decision asserts that the legislative history of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 does not suggest a congressional desire to prevent the FEC from enforcing Title VI provisions. The ruling goes on to cite numerous court precedents in which the interests of free speech and freedom of association have been overridden by the need to prevent state-sponsored discrimination.

Since the GOP receives money from the Commission for its presidential convention, the Freedom Republicans hope the possibility of financial loss will encourage the party to implement rules more conducive to the selection of black delegates and RNC members. **LUGENIA GORDON**, president of the Freedom Republicans, was pleased with the ruling but noted that the group's dispute with the GOP is not over. She says the group is consulting with its Washington, D.C., attorney **FRED KELLOGG** regarding what the next step will be in its efforts to gain greater access for minorities in the party. "I'm fighting for a principle; a true two-party system in this country. Black people will be free only when both parties are running after us for our vote," says Gordon.

In the lawsuit, the plaintiffs also requested suspension of funds from the GOP's convention in Houston on August 17 to 20, but that request was not granted. According to the FEC, both parties received $11,048,000 this year for their conventions, based on a formula dictated in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1971. **KYLE SIMMONS** of the RNC's convention office in Houston, said a rough estimate of the cost of this year's convention would be more than $20 million dollars. Despite Richey's favorable ruling, black involvement in this year's Republican Convention is not likely to increase much above that of four years ago. For although the judge's decision recommended urgent action on the part of the FEC, a definite timetable for adopting Title VI rules was not stipulated. The rule-making process involves several steps and will not be completed before the RNC's convention. Furthermore, a Commission spokesperson says the FEC may appeal the decision.

Redistricting Update: North Carolina and Louisiana

This year, the Congressional Black Caucus will expand its membership by as much as 50 percent due mainly to the redistricting process. Several new congressional districts with majority-black populations have been created, mostly in Southern states, which will enable voters in several Southern communities to elect African-Americans to Congress for the first time since Reconstruction.

Two black candidates from newly formed districts in North Carolina recently moved closer to winning seats in Congress. On May 5 black Warren County Commissioner **EVA CLAYTON** won a place in the June 2 runoff for the Democratic nomination to represent the newly created, mostly rural 1st district in the Fayetteville and Wilmington area. She will go head-to-head with white state representative **WALTER B. JONES, JR.**, the son of the retiring incumbent **WALTER B. JONES, SR.** (See April Across the Nation) Jones almost walked away with the nomination by winning 38 percent of the vote to Clayton's 31 percent among a field of seven candidates. In North Carolina, a candidate only needs a plurality of 40 percent to win. Local politicos say second primaries have not worked in black candidates' favor mainly due to low voter turnout. But poll results from the May 5 primary indicate that black turnout has increased. If Clayton wins the runoff, she will take on white Republican **TED TYLER** in November.

In the race for the state's other majority-black congressional district—the 12th, including parts of the state's major cities in the Piedmont region—Charlotte attorney and former state senator **MELVIN WATT** soundly defeated Durham state representative **HENRY M. "MICKEY" MICHAUX** (47 to 27 percent respectively) to win the Democratic nomination. Both of them are black. The Republican nomination will be decided in the June 2 runoff between two black candidates, attorney and Guilford county (Greensboro) clerk of the court **BARBARA GORE WASHINGTON** and state assistant secretary of human resources **GEORGE JONES, SR.**, of Raleigh. Washington received 33 percent of the vote in the primary to Jones' 21 percent. The state has not been represented in Congress by a black person since 1901.

In Louisiana, the state house on May 7 passed its redistricting bill, which would create a new 7th congressional district with a black voting-age population of 63 percent. The 7th would include parts of Shreveport, Monroe, Alexandria, and East Baton Rouge. The state senate is considering its own redistricting proposal. The final redistricting plan will require the approval of the U.S. Justice Department or a federal court as mandated by the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Newly Created Majority Black Congressional Districts[a]

State	District Number	Major Cities	% Black Voting Age Population
Alabama	#7	Birmingham, Montgomery	64
Georgia	#2	Columbus, Macon	53
	#11	Augusta, Savannah	60
Maryland	#4	(suburbs of Washington, D.C.)	59[b]
North Carolina	#1	Wilmington	53
	#12	Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Charlotte	53
South Carolina	#6	Charleston, Columbia, Florence	58
Texas	#30	Dallas	46[c]
Virginia	#3	Richmond, Norfolk	61

[a] As of May 11, 1992

[b] Percent of the *total* population that is black

[c] 15 percent of the voting age population is Hispanic

Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: After serving six terms, Compton's Democratic Congressman **MERVYN DYMALLY**, 65, will retire this year, ending a political career that spans 30 years. Prior to his election to Congress in 1980, he served as a state representative, the state's first black state senator, lieutenant governor, and was also a member of the Joint Center's board of governors. Dymally has endorsed his 33-year-old daughter LYNN, a candidate who currently serves as a Compton school board member. An attorney and owner of a management and consulting firm, the younger Dymally has served eight years on the school board.

In the June 2 primary she will battle four other contenders for the Democratic nomination, including Compton's black mayor, **WALTER R. TUCKER, JR.**, who is completing the unexpired term of his namesake father who died in office last year. Also in the race are Carson city council member VERA R. DeWITT, a Hispanic; **LAWRENCE A. GRISBY**, a black Los Angeles attorney; and Hispanic businessman **JOE MENDEZ, JR**. There are no Republican contenders for the newly redistricted 37th district seat which includes the southern Los Angeles County communities of Compton, Carson, Watts, and Long Beach, parts of which were devastated by the civil disturbances that followed the **RODNEY KING** verdict. According to **BASIL KIMBREW**, a black Los Angeles political consultant, the key issue in this campaign is "how to rebuild the area." Both Dymally and Tucker are demanding, among other things, minority business development in their communities and state and federal assistance for economic revitalization.

In Los Angeles, two political heavyweights—former Congresswoman **YVONNE BRATHWAITE BURKE** and Democratic state senator **DIANE WATSON**—are vying for the 2nd supervisorial district seat on the powerful five-member county board of supervisors. Burke and Watson are considered to be leading the field of 12 candidates in the June 2 primary. The district has more than 1.5 million citizens, most of whom are black or Hispanic. This is a high-stakes contest; the board of supervisors represents more than 7 million people, has legislative, executive, and judicial authority, and oversees a budget of more than $8 billion.

A former three-term assemblywoman and vice chair of the 1972 Democratic National Convention, Burke was elected to Congress in 1972—the first black woman ever elected to the House from California. She served six years in Washington and decided not to seek a fourth term, choosing instead to make an unsuccessful bid for state attorney general in 1978. In 1979 then-Governor **EDMUND "JERRY" BROWN, JR**. appointed her to fill a vacancy on the board of supervisors. Representing the largely white Malibu and Long Beach areas, she served one year, and lost election to a full term the following year. Burke has been endorsed by the district's supervisor of 40 years, **KENNETH HAHN**.

In 1979 Watson became the first black woman elected to the state senate. Currently serving her fourth term, Watson chairs the Health and Human Services Committee and serves on several other committees, including budget and judiciary. Prior to her senate career she was an educator—teacher, principal, assistant superintendent, college instructor—and served four years on the board of the Los Angeles school district. Most of the residents in her senatorial district, the 28th, also reside in the second supervisorial district where Watson enjoys considerable visibility and name recognition.

In San Francisco, board of supervisors president **DORIS WARD** was appointed by Mayor **FRANK JORDAN** as tax assessor for the city and county in March. A Democrat, Ward is the first black and the first woman to hold the position. A 12-year veteran of the board and the first black to serve as president, Ward replaces **RICHARD HONGISTO** who was appointed police chief. Ward supervises a staff of more than 100 and is in charge of raising about 35 percent of the city's revenues. Her agency prepares the tax rules that apply to businesses, personal property, and real estate.

PENNSYLVANIA: In the April 28 primary, Philadelphia congressman **LUCIEN BLACKWELL** turned back an aggressive challenge from **C. DELORES TUCKER** for the Democratic nomination for his 2nd district seat. Tucker chairs the Democratic National Committee's black caucus and was a previous secretary of state. A former state representative, city council member, and union leader, Blackwell claimed 54 percent of the vote, out-polling Tucker by 13 percentage points. Blackwell will face Republican **LARRY HOLLIN** in the November general election. Blackwell is all but certain to win in this majority-black and overwhelmingly Democratic district.

VIRGINIA: Like father like son. And so it is for **LAWRENCE D. "LARRY" WILDER**, son of the state's first black governor **L. DOUGLAS WILDER**. The younger Wilder won a seat in the state house of delegates in a May 5 special election. Capturing 46 percent of the vote, Wilder defeated three opponents for the seat representing the 70th district in Richmond: black Republican **LYNDA G. OWENS**, white independent **CECIL H. CREASEY, JR**. and black write-in contender **EARNESTINE CLARK**. The 30-year-old attorney will complete the unexpired term of black Democrat **ROLAND EALEY**, a five-term member who died in March. A graduate of the University of Virginia Law School, Wilder is a partner in the Richmond law firm of Wilder and Gregory.

Prisoners of the Drug War

Are Boot Camps Being Used to Rehabilitate Young Offenders Or Are They Just Traditional Prisons With Marching Drills?

by Katherine McFate and Cheryl Reed

In recent years, as the nation's jails and prisons overflow with drug offenders of ever younger ages, many public officials have begun to search for alternatives to lengthy prison sentences. Military-style "boot camps" for young offenders have become a politically attractive innovation. Over half the states in the country have established such "shock incarceration" programs. Do these programs reduce recidivism among young offenders or are they largely ineffective efforts to show the public that politicians are "tough on criminals"?

With that question in mind, this article looks at the causes of the prison overcrowding that has been the impetus for boot camp programs, describes several kinds of programs currently in operation, and discusses the shortcomings and the potential of these programs as an alternative to "hard time."

The Drug War and Black Males

The prisoners of America's "War on Drugs" are disproportionately minority males. In 1980, 25 percent of drug arrestees were black; by 1990, over 40 percent were black. In 1983, one in 15 inmates in state prisons was a drug offender; by 1988, the figure was one in five. And mandatory sentencing guidelines have nearly tripled the average time a drug offender spends in prison—from 2.2 years in 1985 to 6.5 years today. In short, although the current administration's National Drug Control Policy emphasis on supply reduction and law enforcement has not significantly reduced the availability of drugs, it has overburdened the criminal justice system at all levels.

The growth in drug arrest rates among black youth reflects both a growing involvement in the drug trade due partly to declining opportunities in the legal economy, and the prevalence of black youth in street-level dealing, an "occupational niche" that makes them easy targets for arrests. Police are much more likely to arrest and incarcerate individuals at the lowest level of drug distribution operations—there are more of them to find, they are highly visible. Moreover, although whites, Hispanics, and Asians are also involved in the drug trade, police often target low-income black areas for anti-drug sweeps, which puts black youth at greater risk of arrest and incarceration than youth of other races.

Growing involvement in serious drug abuse may be another reason young minority males are increasingly likely to find themselves in prison on drug charges. The National Institute of Drug Abuse Household Survey shows that black males between the ages of 18 and 25 reported the highest rate of regular cocaine use of any age-race-gender group. An estimated one of every twenty 18-to-25-year-old black males in the U.S. reported using cocaine monthly in 1990. More than half the black males who appear in emergency room incidents—as reported by hospitals participating in the Drug Abuse Warning Network—describe the motive for their drug use as addiction. Drug addiction often traps abusers in a cycle of dealing-to-support-drug-use, placing them at great risk of criminal prosecution.

Quantitative evidence shows that arrest and incarceration have a devastating impact on young African-American males. Harvard economist Richard Freeman has found that prison severely reduces a young black man's chances of finding legitimate employment and reduces his long-term earnings potential. In the U.S. today, one of every four black males between the ages of 18 and 29 is under criminal court supervision (awaiting trial, on probation or parole, or incarcerated).

Boot Camps as an Alternative to Prisons

As drug enforcement efforts intensified in the mid-1980s and mandatory sentences increased average prison terms for drug offenders, prison overcrowding became a major problem. The federal prisons are operating at 159 percent of their stated capacity. Between 1985 and 1988, federal corrections expenditures increased by 61 percent. Primarily because of costs and overcrowding problems, criminal justice officials have begun to experiment with alternatives to traditional prisons. Currently, 26 states operate "shock incarceration" or "boot camp" programs. In addition, a number of counties also run their own programs. Two states, Texas and New York, are developing special boot camps for adult drug offenders.

Shock incarceration programs typically include physical drills, rigorous exercise, and work, and it is usually reserved for nonviolent, first-time offenders or young people. Based on the kind of training used in the military, the rationale is that an intensive course of strict discipline may "shock" these offenders into law-abiding behavior. Some programs are used as an alternative to serving any time in prison: an individual volunteers or is sentenced to a

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Prisoners

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boot camp (usually for a three- to six-month course) and then spends time under community supervision. This alternative may curb contact with criminal networks and, since employment is typically a condition of probation, can push the offender back into the legitimate labor market quickly. Both effects would help to reduce recidivism.

However, in most states, participation in boot camps does not replace prison time, it only reduces the length of the individual's prison term. In other words, the offender spends the first part of his sentence in regular prison and is released to early parole upon completion of the boot camp program. These kinds of programs can help reduce prison overcrowding—and save taxpayers' dollars—by churning inmates out of the system more rapidly, but it is unclear that they can accomplish much more.

The most comprehensive and effective boot camp programs provide personal counselling, educational opportunities, and skills training as well as physical discipline regimens. The "About Face Program", established in New Orleans in 1987 to reduce sentences, is a good example of a more reconstructive approach. About Face serves 100 inmates at a time who are between 17 and 40 years old and have been charged with nonviolent offenses. Participants are selected from among prisoners who have applied for acceptance in the program and who meet certain critieria. The program offers one-on-one counselling, substance abuse programs, community service, educational courses, vocational training, and life skills training. Special attention is also given to preparing inmates for release. Each participant is required to make family and employment contacts upon release to ensure a return to a stable environment. Upon completion of the six-month program, graduates are considered for immediate parole. To date, no graduate has had his parole denied. A preliminary evaluation shows that only 9 percent of a group of adult About Face graduates have returned to prison in the three years after graduating. Given that the average three-year recidivism rate in the nation is over 60 percent, this figure is extraordinary. It is even more impressive given that 85 to 90 percent of About Face participants had a history of substance abuse. However, these findings must be qualified by the fact that only a select group of inmates is accepted into the program and only about one-third of those accepted actually completes the course.

Boot Camps for Juveniles?

As the average age of young drug offenders decreases, juvenile detention centers are also becoming overcrowded. Since black juveniles are the fastest growing group among inmates of penal institutions, they are most likely to be affected by the problem of overcrowding. Between 1985 and 1986, the number of juvenile cases handled by the courts increased by only one percent; however, the number of juveniles sentenced to detention centers as a result of drug charges during that period increased by 21 percent. In that one year alone, the number of nonwhite youths referred to reformatories by juvenile courts increased by 42 percent. This increase in referrals coupled with the court's greater likelihood of detaining drug offenders resulted in a 71 percent rise in the number of nonwhite youths detained for a drug offense, according to a March 1990 report from the U.S. Department of Justice.

Overcrowding affects the ability of juvenile facilities to provide the rehabilitative services most are meant to supply. The annual cost of incarcerating a juvenile can be as high as $40,000 per inmate compared to an average of $25,000 for adults, because juvenile detention centers are required to provide educational, vocational, and counselling services. However, with overcrowding and staff shortages, many juvenile detention centers have become nothing more than human warehouses. Boot camps are now being suggested as a mechanism for providing more comprehensive services to juvenile inmates.

The Los Angeles County Probation Department Drug Treatment Boot Camp program has been heralded as a promising new intervention model. Established in September 1990 specifically for juvenile drug offenders, this L.A. boot camp is the first program of its kind in the United States. A residential program, it targets male drug offenders who have a documented history of substance abuse and are between the ages of 16 and 18. The program lasts an average of five months.

The L.A. program's paramilitary setting provides structured discipline but is based on a rehabilitative philosophy. Similar to About Face, it offers individual counselling, drug education and treatment, job training, and work interspersed with a program of drills, marching, and physical training. Furthermore, through the program, the L.A. County Office of Education provides certified and accredited high school courses. Participants are in school every other weekday and work on alternate weekdays under paid-contract work assignments.

The County Department of Public Works, the Department of Water and Power, and the Rapid Transit Department pay $450 a day per work crew, and each participant earns $10 per day toward court-ordered restitution to victims of crime. A nonprofit contract agency called the Inter-agency Drug Abuse Recovery Program provides chemical-dependency treatment services for the juveniles and training programs for the staff. The program serves a maximum of 210 youngsters at a time.

When a youth completes the L.A. program, he is released to six months of intensive supervision. Six deputy probation officers are assigned to work exclusively with these juveniles, and each is assigned a relatively small case load of 35 to 50 clients. The officers provide personal counselling, and they coordinate services from other community-based organizations. They focus on education, vocational guidance and employment.

Since its inception, 883 juveniles have been admitted to

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High Risk Homes and Educational Failure

Poverty and Single Parent Homes Are Among the Risk Factors That Contribute to the Poor Educational Performance of Many Children

by John Wilson, Jr.

As the nation attempts to grapple with one of its most serious crises—educating its young—we are learning that many of the impediments to educational success among African-American children are risk factors that originate in their home environments. The five most serious risk factors are single parent households, poverty, low educational attainment of the parents, siblings who have dropped out of school, and the amount of time a child spends alone each day.

These risk factors begin to affect children as early as the primary grades. Children who tend to succeed in school usually start first grade with the social skills necessary to interact with their teachers and fellow students, have memorized the alphabet, and have been exposed to their age-appropriate literature. These skills and experiences are most often imparted by a knowing adult who provides the educational foundation upon which more sophisticated skills may be built. Unfortunately, single working mothers are often forced to devote more time to the financial support of their families at the expense of the educational development of their children.

Table 1 shows that by the time black 13-year-olds reach eighth grade, the proportions falling behind grade level increase dramatically for their age group. When children fall increasingly further behind in grade level, their risk of dropping out of school increases. And black dropouts with few skills are more likely to be unemployed, underemployed, and low wage earners as adults. ■

Table 1. Percent of 13-year-old Black Males and Females 1 or More Years Below Grade Level, 1969-1989

Year	Males (in percentages)	Females
1969	37.7	33.5
1970	46.7	29.3
1971	43.7	24.5
1972	35.6	26.8
1973	49.0	23.1
1974	45.9	30.1
1975	29.9	28.9
1976	30.1	15.9
1977	28.5	27.2
1978	33.4	25.8
1979	37.6	25.8
1980	37.5	22.4
1981	36.7	32.3
1982	41.9	33.3
1983	52.5	26.0
1984	44.4	32.0
1985	44.1	40.0
1986	44.0	33.1
1987	43.2	33.2
1988	41.7	35.3
1989	51.5	38.0

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

Table 2. Percentage of Eigth Graders with Various Risk Factors, by Race/Ethnicity, 1988

Race/ Ethnicity	Parent is Single	Parents have no high school diploma	Income Less than $15,000	Sibling has dropped out of school	Home alone more than three hours daily
Total	22.3	10.5	21.3	10.0	13.6
White	17.7	6.2	14.1	8.8	12.0
Black	46.5	15.8	47.0	13.0	19.5
Hispanic[1]	23.4	33.4	37.5	16.0	16.3
Asian/Pacific Islander	14.2	8.8	17.8	6.1	15.9
American Indian	31.1	13.4	40.1	15.1	18.6

[1] Hispanics may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Department of Education

Dr. Wilson is a senior research associate at the Joint Center and is heading research on the crisis of black male youth.

Prisoners

(Continued from page 6)

the L.A. boot camp; 500 have completed the camp and been released to aftercare; 189 are currently enrolled. Only 16 percent of those who entered the program have dropped out. With all operating expenditures included, the average daily costs per participant was $73 in fiscal year 1991. By contrast, the county's traditional juvenile detention hall ran to about $80 per person per day. This shows intensive rehabilitative courses are not necessarily more expensive than traditional approaches. While no official recidivism rates are yet available, preliminary data indicate that the rates among boot camp graduates will be significantly lower than the rates of juveniles in L.A.'s traditional institutions.

Unfortunately, local and state budget shortfalls in California for fiscal year 1993 may force the county to close this boot camp and 18 other boot camps in Los Angeles County. Although the County Board of Supervisors has written to both the governor and the state legislature requesting assistance, financing for the programs will depend on the budget package that the state will negotiate in the next few months. If these promising new alternatives are shut down, more Los Angeles County juvenile offenders will be forced into state-run, overcrowded institutions that are not equipped to offer the special rehabilitative services of these smaller programs.

It is likely that more young, minority drug offenders will be referred to boot camp programs. If the goal of these programs is simply to expose young males to some kind of short-term disciplinary training and to reduce overcrowding in high-security penal institutions, then boot camp advocates can claim success. If, however, the goal of these alternatives is to divert young men from lives of crime and to have a lasting effect on their recidivism rates, then the claims of success must be qualified. Only certain kinds of programs—those that provide remedial education, counselling, job training, post-release supervision—appear to be effective in reducing recidivism. Unfortunately, these "full-service" boot camps are still the exception, not the rule.

Nonetheless, the apparent success of providing comprehensive services to incarcerated youthful offenders raises serious questions about this society's approach to the drug problem and urban policy in general. If comprehensive boot camps can reduce recidivism and hence, the long-term overall costs associated with incarceration, why are they not in wider use? Why aren't these kinds of programs universally available options for judges when sentencing young adults? Even more to the point, if remedial education, job training, and counselling reduce recidivism, then isn't it reasonable to expect that participation in such programs could reduce initial incarceration rates? Why do young black men need to be imprisoned before we recognize the moral and financial imperative of providing them with the skills and training to enable them to participate in the larger economy? ■

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Volume 20, No. 6 June 1992

R5685-4

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

The Rise of Democratic Reform in Africa

As One-Party Regimes Fall Under Citizen Pressure, Newly Formed Democratic Governments Face Economic Challenges, Ethnic Divisions

Keeping Kids in School

"Cities in Schools," a Drop-Out Prevention Program, Brings the Resources of Health and Social Agencies Into Educational Institutions

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Urban Policy Institutes Link the Joint Center With Local Leaders to Address the Crises in Cities Through Coalition Building

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195 PRICE $1.50

L.A. –A Wake-Up Call for Urban Policy

The violence done to Rodney King on the street by police and in the courtroom by jurors did more than trigger a disastrous and unfortunate riot. It completely altered the content and character of the 1992 presidential campaign policy debate.

On the Friday after the riot, the publisher of *The Progressive* magazine was asked on the "MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour" how he characterized what had happened in L.A. He said, "I characterize it as the Willie Horton Memorial Riot." That brief sentence sums up the neglect, racism, and just plain meanness that has emanated from our policymakers over the past decade and a half, and most notably from the Reagan and Bush administrations.

The riots painfully revealed that the larger American society had flunked the lesson of the Watts riot more than a quarter century earlier. The problems are the same now as they were then, and so are the solutions: reduce racial alienation, reduce poverty, reduce unemployment, and reduce hopelessness.

The interrelationship among these issues can be most clearly seen in the Joint Center's recent research on youth: "A large portion of young black males are no longer fulfilling the normal roles of adulthood: worker and family head. In 1973, 55.4 percent of black males aged 20 to 29 were employed full-time, year-round; by 1986, only 44.8 percent were employed full-time." Not surprisingly, both employment rates and earnings are directly related to educational attainment and achievement.

The reduced educational opportunities available to young black males and the decline in their ability to earn "family-level" wages is reflected in an alarming increase in criminal activity. The number of black arrests increased by almost 36 percent between 1980 and 1990, more than twice the rate of whites. Further, blacks comprise almost half of all inmates in U.S. prisons.

The urban policy debate that is emerging in the wake of the riots challenges both the public and the private sectors to act. That is good. But this time we must go beyond a public-private partnership; we must add new ingredients by involving black Americans and other inner-city dwellers, as well as our youth, in the search for solutions.

The Joint Center anticipated this challenge last year when we conceived an Urban Policy Institutes program. (See article on page 7.) The goal of this program is to help local organizations and leaders participate more effectively in shaping local public policies.

The program is a partnership between local leaders and the Joint Center to enhance the effectiveness of black participation in the local public policy debate. The Joint Center plans to develop such collaborations in 10 cities during the next several years, with a goal of networking the nation's major cities into a national urban policy grid. The first Urban Policy Institute was launched in Chicago on April 30, the day after the L.A. riots broke out.

With the Joint Center serving as the national resource, each local UPI will utilize networking, research, materials development, periodic consultation, and conferencing to secure an attentive hearing in the local policy debate, in the media, and in other forums which seek to mobilize public opinion and to effect change.

The end of hostilities between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union is as good a time as any to begin coalition-building in the U.S. across racial and ethnic lines. The Los Angeles riots were a wake-up call, summoning us to intensify the fight against injustice and to renew efforts to save our cities. ■

Eddie N. Williams
PRESIDENT

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The Rise of Democratic Reform in Africa

As One-Party Regimes Fall Under Citizen Pressure, Newly Formed Democratic Governments Face Economic Challenges, Ethnic Divisions

by Deborah Kobak

Weeks before the October 1991 presidential election in Zambia, trade unionist Frederick Chiluba was running ahead of Kenneth Kaunda, the country's president for 27 years. All quarters of the society feared that the election would be marred by violence and the vote tainted by fraud. But in a stunning commitment to multi-party politics by the Zambian people, volunteers from all over the country organized a massive campaign of voter education and election monitoring that ensured an impartial outcome.

"What impressed me was how many illiterate and uneducated people out in the rural areas of the country understood both the issues surrounding the campaign and where their perceived interests lay," says Walter Carrington, a member of the international team of observers led by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and himself a former U.S. ambassador to Senegal. "In addition, the election volunteers represented a tremendous civil awareness and desire to see that the election went off in a peaceful and fair manner," Carrington says.

Zambia, however, is only one of a handful of African states with a democratic government. Throughout Africa, independence from colonial control generally led to centralized rule, justified by African leaders as a means to promote economic development and bring cohesiveness to their ethnically divided countries. But the economic consequences proved otherwise. Even in countries where private enterprise was not nationalized outright, a maze of bureaucratic systems discouraged investment. Legislative bodies and appointed governmental and judicial posts were packed with officials sympathetic to ruling regimes. The one-party governments presided over economic and social decline marked in many cases by the diversion of resources into the pockets of high government officials. Now, an unprecedented number of the continent's 53 countries are ending single-party or military rule.

Not all African states adopted autocratic regimes during the post-colonial period. Some, like Botswana, The Gambia, and Mauritius, nurtured democratic political traditions and developed successful multi-party political systems. Zimbabwe has also sustained a pluralistic democracy since it became an independent nation in 1980. Still other nations—Nigeria, Ghana, and Somalia for example—have had intermittent experiences with democratic governance since independence.

The democratic reforms that are sweeping across Africa today are as broad and varied as the continent itself. In many nations, the movement toward reform was initiated by independent civic organizations such as professional and business associations, trade unions, women's groups, academic research institutions, and youth advocacy organizations. The formation of these independent pressure groups was coupled with the growing realization that state-controlled economies had failed in most countries. Economic decay and the inadequacy of basic social services—such as health care and education—triggered much of the new activism.

According to Carol Lancaster, an assistant professor at Georgetown University, political reform has taken three dominant forms. Some leaders have voluntarily called for multi-party elections after instituting deliberate steps towards liberalization over a period of several years. In other nations, pressure groups have forced their governments to accept reforms through civil protests, strikes, and demonstrations. A third pattern of change is typified by African states that are only likely to realize democratic reform through violent mass uprisings.

Reforms Initiated by Government

Senegal was one of the first African states whose government took the lead in establishing a "guided" democracy. According to Walter Carrington, four political parties representing the major political philosophies—conservatism, liberalism, socialism, and Marxism-Leninism—were allowed to organize in 1974 by President Leopold Senghor, Senegal's first post-colonial leader. Senghor felt that a more open political system would ultimately ensure social stability and help attract economic support from abroad. Senghor then notched another African first by voluntarily stepping down as president in 1981.

Under Senghor's successor, President Abdou Diouf, new political parties have been allowed to form, and governmental and non-governmental institutions, such as the judiciary and trade unions, operate free of state intervention. Senegal has also maintained "a vigorous and long-standing free press tradition—you can go to a newspaper kiosk every month and find 20 magazines representing 20 viewpoints," says Carrington.

(Continued on page 4)

Ms. Kobak is a program assistant at the Joint Center, who manages grants from the National Endowment for Democracy to African institutions.

Democracy

(Continued from page 3)

Reforms Demanded by the People

Calls for democratic reform took an even more dramatic form in Zambia. The transition to multi-party politics there is unique in bringing the unbroken post-colonial leadership of its president, Kenneth Kaunda, to a peaceful end. By electing Frederick Chiluba and his party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, Zambians removed Kaunda, their first and only president since independence. Kaunda's eventual departure from office seemed probable when riots over food prices led to a failed coup attempt in 1990. The riots induced Kaunda to lift his ban on political parties other than his own United National Independence Party.

Although the election was deemed free and fair both by Carter's observation team and by Zambians themselves, it was Kaunda's acceptance of defeat that facilitated a peaceful and swift transfer of power. In a continent where rulers often stifle opposition and stay in office until death or a military coup, by stepping aside Kaunda set an important example. Before Chiluba was sworn in, Kaunda appeared on national television and said, "The true lesson of democracy is to accept the verdict of the people."

Ghana is another country currently experiencing popular support for democratic reform that was initiated by citizen groups. The current head of state, air force flight lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, came to power in a 1983 coup that deposed Hilla Limann, Ghana's last democratically elected leader. While Rawlings and the military regime he leads, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), have been praised for implementing World Bank and International Monetary Fund economic restructuring programs, Rawlings has also been sharply criticized for denying Ghanaians full freedom of expression.

Despite an unfortunate "brain drain of intellectuals," Ghana's civic organizations have continued to press for a return to pluralistic politics and freedom of expression. Growth of a reform movement was first manifested in a surge of independent newspapers that openly criticized Rawlings and the PNDC. Responding to public pressure, in January 1992 the PNDC permitted an independent Ghanaian research organization, the Institute of Economic Affairs, to convene a major conference on political, economic, and social reform. The conference was cosponsored by the Joint Center through a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy.

Dr. Charles Mensa, a Ghanaian economist and executive director of the Institute, conducted a forum of political opposition groups, government officials, civic associations, and academics to discuss Ghana's political situation for the first time in a decade. "The impact [of the forum] on this country is enormous," Mensa says. "It has broken the 'culture of silence' and shown our fellow Ghanaians that they are not alone in their quest for democracy."

Although some critics have expressed doubts about Rawlings' commitment to true reform, he appears to be bending to internal pressures. A constitutional referendum took place earlier this spring, followed by the legalization of political parties in May. A presidential election is planned for December and Rawlings is a candidate.

Kenya is another country whose government has responded slowly to reform initiatives. While Kenya developed democratic institutions and a free enterprise economic system in the 1960s, over the years many of these structures reverted to state control.

Maina Kiai, the executive director of the Kenya Human Rights Commission based in Washington, suggests that growing dissatisfaction with the government among Kenya's relatively large professional and business class has significantly strengthened the movement towards reform.

But events outside the country have also fueled the movement. The significance of the Zambian election was not lost on Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi or the Kenyan people. Moi is considering a measured return to pluralistic politics: he legalized political parties in February and tentatively called for a general multi-party election in September 1992. However, Kiai points to recent clashes between members of Moi's Kalenjin tribe and other ethnic groups in western Kenya as evidence of "government-orchestrated violence" designed to prevent Kenya from instituting a multi-party political system.

Reforms in the Aftermath of Civil War

Some democratic transitions have evolved from armed conflict, as in the case of Mali. In March 1991, Mali's armed forces halted violence between political demonstrators and the military by ending President Moussa Traore's 22-year rule. The leaders of the coup then called for a national conference to plot a course toward democracy.

In the former Portuguese colony of Angola, the situation was complicated by external intervention in the country's civil war. After a protracted guerrilla war ended Portugal's colonial rule of Angola in 1975, the U.S. and the Soviet Union waged a proxy war through the two internal forces vying for control of the country: the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), backed by the Soviets, and the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), backed by the U.S. and South Africa.

Peace has now been declared in Angola, but factional conflict threatens democratization. Thirty-seven political parties are fielding candidates in the September 1992 elections to establish a representative government in the war-ravaged country. But so far only a few parties, the MPLA and UNITA included, have met the formal qualifications required to participate in the election.

Democratization is still a remote concept for some African countries like Liberia, which is piecing itself together in the aftermath of a bloody civil war. Although a cease-fire agreement has been signed and an interim government named, rebel forces are still armed and in control of the rural areas outside Monrovia, the capital.

(Continued on back page)

June 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- Bill Clinton has garnered enough convention delegates to clinch the Democratic presidential nomination.
- The Democrats strive for unity on national issues as they prepare for their convention in July.
- Congressional races heat up in two majority-black districts in Georgia.
- An African research institute has been established on Goree Island, once an embarkation point for slaves being brought to the Americas.
- Across the Nation: Two black state senators are in a runoff for a congressional seat in Alabama; Walter Tucker wins a congressional primary and two women will face each other for an L.A. supervisor's post in California; and Eva Clayton and Melvin Watt are victorious in congressional races in North Carolina.

Clinton Gears Up for Leadership Role

Democratic presidential candidate **BILL CLINTON** won 65 percent of the delegates on the final primary day of June 2, securing him the Democratic nomination. Big wins in New York State, Pennsylvania, and throughout the South had already advanced Clinton to front-runner status. With 2,145 delegates needed to secure the nomination, Clinton has succeeded in amassing over 2500 delegates, including 442 superdelegates (elected or other party officials). There are 772 superdelegate slots.

Clinton has received key endorsements from, among others, House Speaker **TOM FOLEY**, House Majority Leader **RICHARD GEPHARDT**, and black political leaders like Congresswoman **MAXINE WATERS**, who represents the area of Los Angeles hardest hit by the recent riots. Other members of the Congressional Black Caucus have also thrown their support behind Clinton. In addition, Clinton has gained important backing from former president **JIMMY CARTER** and from former vice president and 1984 presidential candidate **WALTER MONDALE**.

Even with this support, some analysts believe that to gain the momentum he needs to carry him through the fall, Clinton must choose a vice president from outside the traditional party system—someone who, as **TOM MANN**, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, puts it, is a "can-do, non-political" person. "The irony is that we have a candidate who is wrapping up the nomination early [in the process], there is relative peace in the party, and yet he has been severely damaged during the primary process with questions of his character and has been overtaken [in the polls] by independent candidate **H. ROSS PEROT**," says Mann. With this in mind, Clinton has created a panel to develop a pool of potential vice presidential candidates. The panel members are **WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER**, a California lawyer and former deputy secretary of state in the Carter administration; **MADELEINE KUNIN**, former governor of Vermont; and Washington, D.C. attorney **VERNON JORDAN**, former president of the National Urban League and a member of the Joint Center board of governors. Although there is no "short list," several names are repeatedly mentioned, including U.S. senators **BILL BRADLEY** of New Jersey, **JAY ROCKEFELLER** of West Virginia, and **BOB KERREY** of Nebraska, Clinton's former rival in the primaries.

Pre-convention Democrats—Keeping the Lid On

With less than a month to go before the Democratic convention meets in New York from July 13 to 16, party officials are trying to pull together a coalition strong enough to weather the turbulence of the third-party candidacy of Perot and to beat **GEORGE BUSH** in the fall. Although platform issues and decisions on special rules and credentials have still not been finalized, the Democrats are hoping to smooth over any outcroppings of dissension before the first gavel sounds at Madison Square Garden. The party's platform committee met in Cleveland on May 18 to discuss four topics it has adopted as critical themes: economic opportunity and hope, responsibility, community empowerment, and redefining national security. Over 90 representatives from various organizations made presentations before the committee to persuade it to include their concerns in the platform. Speaking on behalf of the National Rainbow Coalition, Rev. **JESSE JACKSON** charged the Bush Administration with a lack of sympathy towards people of color and low-income citizens. Jackson cited the economic and social jeopardy that led to the recent riots in Los Angeles. "This platform must not be a place for platitudes and positioning," he said, "but a place to reach for a higher plateau, and to provide a vision that addresses the crisis."

The moderate-to-conservative Democratic Leadership Council, which Clinton chaired from March 1990 to August 1991, asked the platform committee to consider adopting a "public benefits for public service" program, whereby welfare recipients would participate in educational and vocational training in exchange for receiving public assistance benefits. The council also called for the creation of a "civilian GI bill," by which a person who gives a year or two of voluntary national service (such as teaching, assisting in shelters or hospitals, or repairing housing) would receive federal aid toward college or job training benefits in lieu of a Pell student aid grant. No specific dollar amounts for these proposed benefits have been announced. Participants would complete their service either before or after college, depending on the service organization's requirements.

While the issue of abortion remains at the center of hot national debate, it is not likely to be a major point of contention among Democrats. Pennsylvania's Democratic governor **ROBERT P. CASEY** is one of the few who has assailed the party for adopting a pro-choice stance. Pennsylvania's strict antiabortion law, currently before the Supreme Court, requires, among other things, spousal notification and that women wait 24 hours before obtaining an abortion. "I believe [the Democratic Party's position on abortion] is wrong in principle and out of the mainstream of our party's historic commitment to protecting the powerless," Casey told the platform committee in Cleveland. Despite Casey's position, the party's history of supporting a woman's right to choose is in no danger of being reversed. As **KATE MICHELMAN**, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, told the platform committee, "A solid pro-choice plank is not merely good politics—it's strong principle."

The volumes of testimony given at the Cleveland meeting will be sifted on June 12 and 13 when the platform committee meets again to whittle the material down to a workable document. Decisions on which issues will comprise the platform will be made at the final committee meeting on June 27. According to Tom Mann of Brookings, the Democrats are eager to prevent the kinds of internal conflicts that characterized their 1988 convention. That year Jesse Jackson demanded greater participation among minorities in the party leadership which led to **RON BROWN**'s taking the reigns of the Democratic National Committee. Jackson also demanded same-day voter registration and statehood for the District of Columbia. While some party insiders feel those demands gave voters the perception of the party that year as fractured, others believe that much of Jackson's agenda remains on the table as the party's unfinished business.

Congressional Horse Race in Georgia

In Georgia's July 21 congressional primary, a welter of candidates will compete to represent the two new majority-black districts in the state: the 2nd, encompassing the Macon, Albany, and Columbus area; and the 11th, including Augusta, Savannah, and the south Atlanta suburb of Dekalb County. Georgia already has a majority-black district, the 5th, in Atlanta, represented by **JOHN LEWIS**. The 2nd district has a black voting-age population of just over 52 percent. Approximately 44 percent of the blacks there are registered to vote. Among the candidates in the race for this newly created seat is white, six-term congressman **CHARLES HATCHER**, who currently represents the "old" 2nd district, and has the dubious distinction of being number three on the House check-bouncing list (he bounced more than 700 checks). Hatcher chairs the House agricultural subcommittee on peanuts and tobacco, and the district's farmers have vowed to return him to Washington because of his efforts to protect peanut price supports in the 1990 Farm Bill. He also has a strong base of support in Albany's black community owing to a respectable voting record on issues of special concern to blacks. He supported the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the Martin Luther King National Holiday bill, and legislation to increase the minimum wage.

The line-up of Democratic challengers to Hatcher includes four black candidates: state senator **SANFORD BISHOP** of Columbus, Macon attorney and minister **LOONZY EDWARDS**, engineer **STEPHANIE A. KAGLER** from the town of Warner Robins, and **MARY YOUNG-CUMMINGS**, an attorney and state representative from Albany. Republican hopefuls are black insurance agent **DON MENEFEE** of Columbus and **JOSEPH WILLIAMS**, a white candidate from Valdosta who works in a family-owned convenience store. Sen. Bishop and Rep. Young-Cummings are considered to be Hatcher's strongest challengers. A 45-year-old attorney, Bishop is a 16-year veteran of the state general assembly (14 years in the House and two in the senate). He has been a member of the senate appropriations, judiciary, reapportionment and education committees. Bishop has the greatest fundraising potential among Hatcher's challengers because of his broad name recognition developed over his long tenure in the state legislature and his strong relationship with Columbus bankers and businessmen. The ability to raise more money than his competitors should give him an advantage in buying campaign ads in the district's three media markets. Young-Cummings has been in the state house for 10 years and was an Albany city commissioner for eight years. Active in national Democratic politics for two decades, she was a state coordinator for the 1984 Jesse Jackson presidential campaign. Local observers don't rule out the possibility of Hatcher's walking away with the seat because of the crowded field of candidates and the possibility of low voter turnout.

The Democratic primary in the 11th district (60 percent black voting-age population) is a real "horse race" among three black candidates: Dekalb state senator **EUGENE WALKER** and state representatives **CYNTHIA McKINNEY** of Atlanta and **MICHAEL THURMOND** of Athens, according to **BOB HOLMES**, director of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy in Atlanta. Walker, a four-term state senator who has served as a majority whip, seems to be running ahead of the other two. He is the second vice chair of the state party and has been endorsed by governor **ZELL MILLER**. McKinney teaches political science and international relations at Agnes Scott College in Dekalb and is serving her second term in the state general assembly where she is a member of the reapportionment committee. She is promoting herself as a "two-for-one" candidate, citing her race and gender as assets for the district's representation. She is outspoken and not shy about taking controversial stands. For example, she opposed the Gulf War while her father and fellow house member, **JAMES McKINNEY**, supported the use of force in that conflict. She has attracted the support of local women's groups and several of Atlanta's heavyweights, including former mayor, congressman, and U.N. ambassador **ANDREW YOUNG** and influential black businessman **HERMAN RUSSELL**, CEO of the construction firm of H.J. Russell and Company.

Thurmond is a three-term member of the house who chairs the state's legislative black caucus and has served on the judiciary, ways and means, and education committees. Thurmond does not reside in the 11th but so far his residence has not been a factor in the campaign. Also vying for the Democratic nomination are two black candidates who are not expected to capture many votes: Jefferson County school administrator **VERDREE LOCKHART** and **MOSES TODD** of Savannah. Black Republican candidates are **MICHAEL PRATT**, a Savannah attorney, and **OTIS SMITH**, a Presbyterian minister from Augusta. But in this heavily Democratic district, their chances of prevailing in November are slim.

Goree Island: From Slave Fortress to Think Tank

Historic Goree Island, just off the coast of Dakar, Senegal, once served as a point of embarkation for slaves shipped to North and South America. Now it is the site of another landmark: the headquarters of the Goree Institute, a nonprofit initiative to promote pan-African research and dialogue. The idea behind the Goree Institute was born in 1987 when Senegal hosted the first official meeting between representatives of South Africa's white Afrikaaner business community and the African National Congress (ANC), which triggered the negotiations still underway in South Africa to establish a multi-racial democracy. Seeing the need for open communication among all Africans, Senegalese President **ABDOU DIOUF** called on the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), one of the conveners of the Afrikaaner-ANC meeting, to organize a pan-African center for democracy.

At IDASA's request, the Joint Center agreed in 1991 to administer a seed grant from the National Endowment for Democracy to launch the Goree Institute. The Institute, which officially opens its doors this June, hopes to promote democracy, economic development, and cultural awareness across Africa through a program of research, conferences, and cultural events. Activities planned for the rest of 1992 include an economic conference, an African fine arts festival, and a working tour to Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa to enable prominent Africans representing political rights organizations to study democratic reform initiatives in those countries.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: The Democratic nomination for Alabama's newly minted majority-black 7th congressional district will be decided in a June 30 runoff between two black state senators, **EARL HILLIARD** of Birmingham and **HANK SANDERS** of Selma. The two topped a field of five candidates in the June 2 primary, receiving 30 percent and 25 percent of the vote respectively. The 7th district encompasses parts of Birmingham, Montgomery, and Selma and has a black voting-age population of 64 percent. The other candidates in the June 2 primary were also black and included Montgomery county commissioner **JOHN KNIGHT**, Selma state representative **JAMES LOUIS THOMAS**, and **SAM TAYLOR** of Dayton, a legislative assistant to the district's current congressman, white Democrat **CLAUDE HARRIS**, who is not running for reelection.

Hilliard has served six years in the state house and is serving his fourth term as senator., Sanders, vice chair of the finance committee, was elected to the senate in 1983. The GOP nomination will also be decided in the June 30 runoff between two black candidates: **JONATHAN McPHERSON, SR.**, a businessman from Birmingham, and **KERVIN JONES**, a farmer from Tuscaloosa. McPherson owns several funeral homes in the state and is a retired college chemistry professor.

In the Alabama race for the U.S. senate, black Jefferson County commissioner and former Birmingham state representative **CHRIS McNAIR** failed to unseat the state's junior senator, **RICHARD SHELBY**, in the June primary. McNair campaigned against Shelby's conservative voting record and, appealing to women voters, attacked Shelby's decision to support the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice **CLARENCE THOMAS**. But when the ballots were tallied, McNair garnered only 28 percent of the vote.

CALIFORNIA: LYNN DYMALLY will not succeed her father, retiring congressman **MERVYN DYMALLY**, in the U. S. House of Representatives. She and three other candidates were defeated in the June 2 Democratic congressional primary by Compton mayor **WALTER R. TUCKER, JR.** They were vying for their party's nomination to the newly drawn 37th district seat being vacated by the elder Dymally. Tucker outpolled Dymally 39 percent to 37 percent. (See May 1992 Across the Nation)

In Los Angeles County, state senator **DIANE WATSON** and former congresswoman **YVONNE BRATHWAITE BURKE** were the top two vote-getters in a 12-candidate race for the 2nd district seat of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, winning 45 and 41 percent of the vote, respectively. The two will face each other in a November runoff.

The five-member board of supervisors was all white until two years ago, when the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and the American Civil Liberties Union won a law suit (*Garza* v. *County of Los Angeles*) that found the county supervisorial district boundaries to have been drawn in violation of the Voting Rights Act. Since Hispanics comprise 31 percent of the Los Angeles County population, MALDEF had charged that three of the five election districts were gerrymandered to prevent Hispanics from being elected to the board. The Los Angeles chapters of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were also parties to the suit (blacks make up 10 percent of the county's population). As a result of the suit, the district lines were redrawn in 1991 and Hispanic Los Angeles councilwoman **GLORIA MOLINA** was elected to the board's 1st supervisorial district seat that year.

GEORGIA: State commissioner of labor **AL SCOTT** is running for election to fill the remaining two years of the post he now occupies. A former Savannah state representative, Scott was appointed to the post by Governor Zell Miller in January 1991 to fill the vacancy left by **JOE TANNER** who was appointed to another position (See February 1991 Across the Nation). Scott's first electoral obstacle is getting past the Democratic primary on July 21. In that contest, he will face **DAVID POYTHRESS**, an Atlanta attorney and former secretary of state, and **FRANCES JOHNSON**, a union worker from Savannah; both are white. As labor commissioner, Scott heads a staff of 1,800 and oversees an annual budget of more than $150 million. The state employment offices administer the state's unemployment insurance program, the federal Job Training Partnership Act, and a variety of employment programs.

NORTH CAROLINA: Warren County commissioner **EVA CLAYTON** defeated white state representative **WALTER JONES III** in the June 2 runoff for the Democratic nomination to represent the newly created majority-black 1st congressional district which includes the city of Wilmington. Clayton received 55 percent of the vote to Jones' 45 percent.

In the 12th district, former Charlotte state senator **MELVIN WATT** clinched the Democratic nomination on May 5. Watt, a graduate of Yale Law School, had managed the election campaigns of black former Charlotte mayor (and U.S. senate candidate) **HARVEY GANTT**. The district includes parts of Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and Charlotte. In the Republican runoff for the district, black Greensboro attorney **BARBARA GORE WASHINGTON** defeated state assistant secretary of human resources **GEORGE JONES, SR.**, of Raleigh (See April 1992 Across the Nation).

Keeping Kids in School

"Cities in Schools," a Drop-Out Prevention Program, Brings the Resources of Health and Social Agencies Into Educational Institutions

by Walter J. Leonard

Every year, hundreds of thousands of young Americans drop out of school, most of them from poor, single-parent families. Sadly, they are condemning themselves to uncertain futures, since it is virtually impossible to advance in our society without at least a high school diploma. This is a monumental problem. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation reports that 12 million of America's youth are at risk of dropping out. Not only do young people harm themselves by dropping out, but poorly educated, low-skilled adults are more likely to become economic drains on the society than assets.

One response to the problem is Cities in Schools (CIS). Formed nearly 30 years ago, it is the nation's largest nonprofit organization dedicated to dropout prevention. Taking a communitywide approach to intervention, there are 64 independent, local CIS programs in operation that provide personal, coordinated, and accountable social services to pubic school students at risk of abandoning their education. Most of these students, who range in age from 10 to 19 years old, have not benefitted from "early" intervention programs.

Public school is often the last opportunity for society to positively influence the life of a disadvantaged youth. Society's remaining interventions tend to be costly—public assistance, drug treatment, incarceration. At CIS, our emphasis is on prevention and long-term solutions. As Lisbeth B. Schorr writes in *Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage*: "If [adequate health, education, and social services] were more widely available, fewer children would come into adulthood unschooled and unskilled, committing violent crimes, and bearing children as unmarried teenagers. Fewer of today's vulnerable children would tomorrow swell the welfare rolls and the prisons. Many more would grow into responsible and productive adults, able to form stable families and contributing to, rather than depleting, America's prosperity and sense of community. Utility and self-interest, as well as humanity, should move us to apply what we have learned."

Troubled students, who may have nowhere else to turn, not even to their families, must seek out the help they so badly need—health care, job counseling, tutoring—from a confusing variety of scattered agencies. Not only are young people expected to locate these resources by themselves, they must also penetrate a faceless and intimidating bureaucracy in hopes of reaching the counselors or mentors who can see them as individuals and not as walking problems. Such a quest would be daunting to many well educated adults, but for young people, the task frequently proves overwhelming—to give up and drop out appears the preferable alternative.

Teaming Up on Problems

The concept behind the Cities In Schools approach is a simple one: making social services available at schools. Our premise is that the public schools alone cannot resolve the diverse problems that keep students from learning and maturing into productive adults. The rest of the community must be willing to contribute to youth development through a collective effort.

As the organization's name suggests, the city and its resources are placed in schools where service providers and teachers work as a team. The program has found that when a teacher, a health worker, and a career counselor work together with the same group of at-risk students each day, greater improvements in student behavior, academic performance, and attitudes are achieved than when services are delivered in isolation, uncoordinated, and outside the educational setting. The CIS program also augments the efforts of service agencies with student interns and large numbers of volunteer mentors and tutors.

Supported financially by a consortium of federal agencies, foundations, private corporations, as well as gifts from individuals, the CIS network of 64 local programs operates in 21 states, 122 communities, and 384 school sites. Each program must first and foremost be responsive to local needs. Therefore the specific resources "brokered in" by local programs vary from city to town to rural county depending on the needs of the students, their families, and the community. But among the services most frequently offered are: alcohol and drug education, violence deterrence, pregnancy prevention, minority male initiatives, employment training, career counseling, and workplace skills training. During the 1990-91 school year, more than 36,700 students and their families received personal, coordinated, and accountable services from CIS. There are also CIS programs overseas: the United Kingdom Cities In Schools program is now two years old.

(Continued on page 6)

Dr. Leonard, a former president of Fisk University, is executive director of Cities In Schools, Inc. based in Alexandria, Virginia.

Schools

(Continued from page 5)

Not Beyond Saving

The strength of CIS's efforts is best judged by the dramatic differences it can make in the lives of young people and their families. Take the case of Edward, a middle school student in the Charlotte, North Carolina, program. Edward's father had deserted him, his mother, and his younger brother, and when his case came to the school's attention, his family had no money for food. With no permanent mailing address, the family could not receive public assistance or food stamps and Edward's poor attendance at school was linked to his mother's inability to afford gas for her pick-up truck.

To respond to this family crisis, May Sheyda, a dropout prevention counselor managing the CIS project at Edward's school, succeeded in getting the Department of Social Services to accept a friend's residence as a temporary address for the family enabling them to reapply for public assistance. She then arranged to have Edward participate in the CIS program. The individual attention Edward received renewed his interest in learning and helped neutralize the pressures of his family's difficulties.

Edward's mother later found an apartment, but she had to spend all of her first AFDC welfare check on a deposit and the first month's rent. When the electric company threatened to cut off her power if she did not pay bill, Sheyda connected the family with the Salvation Army and several other charities which helped them through that financial emergency. CIS has also provided Edward's family with kitchen utensils, clothes, and money for gas through an emergency cash and supplies fund which most local programs maintain.

Meanwhile, Sheyda encouraged Edward's mother to enroll in a community college to work toward a high school diploma. Both Edward and his mother then had the same goal: securing an education. Soon Edward's mother found a part-time job driving a cab. Today the family is stable and optimistic about the future.

In another case, Gerald had been written off by many as beyond saving. A 9th-grade dropout, Gerald joined the Crips gang in Los Angeles, and was soon a full-time outlaw—dealing drugs, stealing cars, robbing, and terrorizing. As his life became more violent, Gerald began to see that he was on a collision course with prison or death. The turning point came when his best friend in the Crips said to him, minutes before a confrontation with a rival gang, "This life isn't working out. We really ought to go back to school." In the ensuing gun battle, the friend was killed but Gerald became determined to change.

When he heard about the Inglewood CIS program, Gerald applied and was re-enrolled in school. Through CIS, he was recruited for the Corporate Academy, a school sponsored by Burger King for young people who have dropped out but want to return to school. Social services such as drug counseling, workplace skills, and anti-gang programs helped Gerald redirect his life. He graduated from high school, and today he is a student at Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi.

The benefits of CIS do not all flow in one direction. Indeed, an entire community benefits when students are turned around. A central tenet of our approach is our belief that every young person wants to be useful and appreciated by others. This was demonstrated in the Caldwell County, North Carolina, program, where 99 CIS students were receiving over 1,700 cumulative hours of tutoring and mentoring services each month. Through CIS coordination, these 99 students are now giving back what they received by tutoring younger at-risk students in three of the county's elementary schools. In McAllen, Texas, CIS high school students conducted a food drive to provide Thanksgiving meals for needy families.

A Human Investment

One of the great strengths of Cities In Schools is its cost effectiveness. Relatively little new funding is required to start CIS in a new community. One study concluded that for every dollar that CIS programs spend, a minimum of five dollars are leveraged into the program—both by repositioning the services of other agencies and by co-odinating in-kind donations of volunteers' time, office space, and computers. During the 1990-91 school year, 424 staff members from 233 service-providing agencies were repositioned to work in CIS programs nationwide. Large savings were realized because the salaries of the professionals working in CIS projects continue to be paid by their home agencies.

More importantly, the funding for CIS should be seen as a human investment with high yields in the long term. The program's benefits far outweigh the dollars expended to support them. In Atlanta, Georgia, a 1986 study showed that while the local CIS program cost $1.2 million per year to operate, it produced $7 to $9.5 million in long- and short-term benefits for each academic year of operation. These investments have made anticipated public expenditures unnecessary—including an estimated $540,000 in Atlanta school funding saved by improving attendance and reducing the number of dropouts; $48,000 per year in savings to the criminal justice system because of reduced arrests for youth crimes; and over $4 million in avoided long-term welfare costs.

This is a society of great wealth where many of our citizens enjoy high standards of living. Yet this is also a society that has permitted the deplorable disintegration of families, neighborhoods, and even entire cities. As the social and economic gaps between the haves and the have-nots widen, one wonders what kind of inheritance we will leave for the next generation. Will there be more jails than schools? Will there be a safety net to keep families together, or a system that drives them apart?

It is hoped that the public, private, and nonprofit sectors will make greater investments to support programs dedicated to effective prevention and intervention. Since the future of an entire generation is at stake, the price for failing to do so is too high. ■

Partnerships to Solve Urban Problems

Urban Policy Institutes Link the Joint Center With Local Leaders to Address the Crises in Cities Through Coalition Building

by Yvonne Scruggs

Over the years, the Joint Center has worked in many different ways to strengthen the capacity of black Americans, especially their organizations and leaders, to influence the nation's political system. In January of this year, the Joint Center initiated a new program, the Urban Policy Institutes (UPI), which is designed to enable African-American leaders to have an impact on local public policies that directly affect their communities.

The establishment of Urban Policy Institutes was prophetic given the recent events in Los Angeles which served, as mentioned in this month's "Perspective" by Eddie N. Williams, as a wake-up call for our society to the persistent, unresolved, and worsening problems in poor and minority communities.

The Urban Policy Institutes concept is based on the historic American notion that an effective civil society requires informed citizen participation in all aspects of governance and policy making. The Joint Center will contribute to this goal by drawing upon its experience in research, policy analysis, and coalition building to help local organizations and leaders document problems, identify options, and develop problem-solving strategies.

The Urban Policy Institutes blend this experience with local coalition-building efforts to address the debilitating problems of social isolation and declining economic opportunities that acutely affect our inner cities.

A Unique Partnership

The Institutes represent a unique partnership between local leaders and the Joint Center to enhance the effectiveness of black participation in the local political and public policy arenas. With the Joint Center serving as catalyst and resource, each UPI will be composed of at least 50 local leadership organizations and individuals who will participate in periodic day-long public policy review and strategy-development sessions. The first in the series of Urban Policy Institute sessions was held in Chicago in April with financial support from the Joyce Foundation, the Chicago Community Trust, and the Human Relations Foundation of Chicago.

In the Chicago UPI, local partners include representatives from the Chicago Urban League, PUSH, Chicago State University, the DuSable Museum, Harold Washington College, Olive Harvey College, and Northeastern Illinois' Center for Inner-City Studies, as well as elected officials and leaders from business, industry, and the community. Additional UPIs are currently being launched in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York City. Other locations—including Los Angeles, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Philadelphia—are also under consideration.

Three destructive national trends make local problem solving an imperative: the decimation of many federal urban programs, the stagnant national economy, and the uneven administration of justice that disproportionately burdens America's poor and minorities. UPI will respond to requests from local leaders for help in coping with a host of urban problems including high unemployment, poor housing, inadequate educational opportunity, family disintegration, crime, drug abuse, threats to health and safety, and racial and ethnic tensions.

The Urban Policy Institutes seek to:

- Bring together individuals and organization leaders who may have different views about how to achieve common goals;
- Document local problems and identify and define local issues;
- Frame priority issues in terms of fundamental community values;
- Examine alternative choices, strategies, and trade-offs;
- Identify potential allies (with common interests);
- Develop action agendas which could be implemented by local organizations and individual leaders.

Local Leaders Set the Agenda

Another unique feature of UPI is that local leaders will provide the primary impetus to make this concept work over the long haul. While the Joint Center will sponsor two or more public policy forums each year in each participating city, a permanent Joint Center presence is not envisioned at this time, nor is a new organization planned. Rather, it is hoped that as a result of this initiative, stubborn, crippling urban problems will begin to yield to workable solutions advanced by alliances of urban leaders around shared concerns.

UPI is not so much a new technology as it is a new perspective on public agenda building using familiar and effective approaches borrowed from historically successful experience in public participation. ■

Dr. Scruggs, the director of the program, is the former deputy mayor of Philadelphia and former commissioner of housing of New York State. She previously served as a professor of policy and planning at Howard University and at the University of Pennsylvania.

Democracy

(Continued from page 4)

Although the West has been slow to provide additional aid and debt relief to African countries committed to democratic governance, some non-African organizations have made critical contributions. The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) has provided funding for a wide variety of democratic initiatives, including general assistance to professional and business associations, the press, and citizens' groups. In the 1980s, TransAfrica, the black-American foreign affairs lobby, was instrumental in getting the U.S. Congress to impose economic sanctions against the apartheid regime of South Africa. Those sanctions helped pressure the South African government to open negotiations with the African National Congress aimed at forming a multiracial democracy there.

A number of organizations, including the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) in Washington, D.C., are engaged in the support of fair elections abroad. Last year, the Atlanta-based Carter Center of Emory University combined forces with NDI to organize the four-month comprehensive election monitoring effort in Zambia that built public confidence and encouraged participation in the voting process.

However, David Peterson, program officer for Africa at the National Endowment for Democracy, cautions against giving too much credit to international efforts. "We at the Endowment would have to be very modest about the impact that we've had. The democratic movement would have gotten underway regardless of our help."

Democracy's Challenges

It is clear that newly democratized African nations will face many challenges in implementing pluralistic systems. Perhaps the single most important challenge to the success of democratic reforms is economic performance. Dr. Herbert Weiss, a professor of political science at Brooklyn College, believes that the economic structural adjustment policies imposed on African state., by international aid organizations and Western governments will create additional difficulties for newly democratized nations. Structural adjustment policies have been forcing African governments to tighten their belts and lower expenditures, resulting in less money for government services such as health care, education, and transportation. "The Eastern European aid priority is likely to supersede American interest in Africa which, when coupled with structural adjustment programs, bodes ill for Africa's new democratic regimes," says Weiss. African governments must convince their financially strapped citizens of the long-term economic benefits of these structural adjustment policies before they are voted out of office.

A second challenge to the success of political pluralism in Africa is ethnic cleavage. Says Carrington, "The problem is to make politics something other than a zero-sum game, where winning doesn't mean everyone else is excluded." Several African specialists have suggested that a federalist system might best reconcile traditional tribal conflicts, as federalism decentralizes governmental authority and gives smaller groups a voice through local elections.

A third challenge that must be met if democratic governance is to succeed is establishing independent civic institutions free of government intervention. An active free press and a vigorous body of professional, business, advocacy, and community associations will help to vocalize areas of concern and to pressure the government to remain accountable to the electorate.

If African states can work towards consensus politics and self-determination, democratic values and traditions should, in time, prosper. There is still a strong need for the international community to remain involved in the transition by applying external pressure on African leaders. But just as it was up to the people of Africa to create an environment receptive to reform, it is up to African citizens to safeguard newly established democratic systems. ■

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Volume 20, No. 7 **July 1992**

R5685-4

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

Welfare: Does Reform Equal Punishment?

Critics Charge That Cuts in Benefits and Reductions of Welfare Rolls by States in the Name of Reform Are Unreasonable and Punitive

The Myth of Homogeneous Japan

Japan's Biggest Minority Group, the Burakumin, Fights Discrimination Based on the Legacy of a Feudal Social Class System

Racism in the 1990s: A Policy Challenge

The High Jobless Rate and Today's Subtler Forms of Discrimination Have Complicated the Fight for Equality

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ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

An Expanded International Affairs Program

The Cold War is over. Western Europe is reshaping itself. South Africa is coming out of isolation. In short, a new world is being born. These momentous changes, combined with the black community's increased political and economic power and professional expertise, give black Americans a unique opportunity to help shape U.S. foreign policy and play a positive role in the creation of a "New World Order." An expanded emphasis on international affairs will not detract from our urgent need to reform and refurbish many domestic policies. In fact, our international and domestic policies overlap on many different fronts.

Despite the ending of the Cold War—which robbed the world, and especially the United States, of human and material resources—and notwithstanding progress in South Africa, there are still many urgent international issues which must be addressed. Increased humanitarian assistance to the poorer nations, refugee and immigration issues, human rights abuses, trade and investment, protecting the environment, international cooperation to conquer AIDS and illegal drugs, arms races, and debilitating regional conflicts will continue to challenge governments and citizens everywhere. These problems can only be solved through international cooperation.

The Joint Center, with the support of the MacArthur Foundation, is moving to become a more significant force in international affairs by helping policymakers and citizens at large better understand the relationships between domestic and foreign policy and by helping black Americans play a greater role in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy. As a first step, we have asked fourteen distinguished foreign policy experts to serve on a Foreign Affairs Advisory Committee. And this summer, we engaged Kenneth Longmyer, a Foreign Service officer with extensive background in European affairs and public diplomacy, to be our first full-time director of international affairs.

Part of the agenda of the International Affairs Division will be to conduct research to discover the barriers which prevent blacks from participating in the foreign policy process. Through conferences, individual meetings, publications, and media appearances, we will assist members of the black community to increase their knowledge of international issues and to communicate their informed preferences to Congress and to the executive branch.

With our new resources we will be able to expand our ongoing international activities, including encouraging more young Americans to increase their interest in and knowledge of foreign affairs. In the process, we hope to persuade government officials to make greater use of the wealth of foreign policy expertise which already exists in the black community.

Without abandoning our well established and ongoing efforts in Africa, we will explore ways black Americans can bring their expertise and influence to bear on U.S. relations with Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. It is essential that the black community expand its foreign policy interests beyond Africa, because decisions made in Brussels, Tokyo, Jerusalem, and Mexico City not only will directly affect the welfare of all Americans, but will affect the peoples of other nations which we care about. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *FOCUS* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. *FOCUS* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPES, Inc.

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Welfare: Does Reform Equal Punishment?

Critics Charge That Cuts in Benefits and Reductions of Welfare Rolls by States in the Name of Reform Are Unreasonable and Punitive

by Retha Hill

Across the nation, in statehouses, city halls, and on the presidential campaign, the drumbeat for welfare "reform" is getting louder. Even before the Los Angeles riots gave greater voice to it, a debate was taking shape on what to do about America's welfare-dependent poor. On one side are the policymakers who believe welfare recipients must learn "new values" and should therefore receive less assistance in order to force more of them to work. On the other side are advocates for the poor who believe that Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) grants are too low to begin with and that forcing single mothers with young children to work is unreasonable.

AFDC is an outgrowth of a program established in the 1930s to support widows and their children. Over the last 60 years, it has become the main source of public support for poor single-parent families. Today, nearly five million families receive AFDC benefits at an annual cost of $20 billion.

In an effort to encourage adult AFDC recipients to participate in education and training programs that would lead to paid employment, Congress in 1988 enacted the JOBS program (Job Opportunity and Basic Skills). JOBS focuses on recipients with children over age three who may receive support for transportation, child care, and Medicaid coverage up to a year after obtaining work.

The Recession and Its Budget Squeeze

The rise in unemployment caused by the recession has resulted in a corresponding rise in demand for public assistance. The national jobless rate this past June was 7.8 percent, the highest in eight years, and unemployment is even worse in black and Latino communities (14.9 and 12.1 percent, respectively). There are 4.73 million families on AFDC today compared with 3.97 million two years ago (an increase of 16 percent), costing the federal and state governments nearly $2 billion more than in 1990. With the cost of basic AFDC support rising, there is little money for job training, transportation, or child care for single mothers who want to work.

The recession has also caused reductions in state revenues that have affected the poor in 40 states through cuts in AFDC benefits and general assistance, the welfare program for disabled single individuals and childless couples. In fiscal year 1991, 31 states froze benefits and nine more states cut them. In seven of those states—California, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, and the District of Columbia—the cuts have been severe.

The recession has hit California particularly hard. There the welfare caseload has grown four times faster than the state's general population, increasing by 12 percent in the past four years to include 2.3 million people. California's 9.5 percent unemployment rate is one of the nation's highest. To cut welfare costs, the state has placed an initiative on the November ballot that would deny any automatic increase in benefits to recipients who have more children. (California social service officials claim that 32 percent of welfare mothers bear additional children after they have begun receiving benefits.) According to a study by the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation which examined Ventura and Santa Clara counties, if the initiative passes, an estimated 250,000 additional children will go hungry and 84,000 families will become homeless.

There have been similar reductions in JOBS programs. Although Congress has mandated states to provide some mix of training and employment services, states cannot participate unless they also match the federal monies with their own funds. But many states have been unable to fully invest in these programs. The federal government allotted $1 billion this year for JOBS, but the states have only matched about 60 percent of that money, according to Julie Strawn of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. The recession has forced even states with model JOBS programs—like California's Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN), Massachusetts' Employment and Training Choices (ET), and New Jersey's Realizing Economic Achievement (REACH)—to reduce their scope drastically, in some cases opting to replace education and training with minimal, low-cost job search services.

Welfare Reform and Campaign Rhetoric

Many reformers want to break up a system that they believe has ruined families, created a permanent underclass of poor women and children, and fostered a culture of dependency. On the cutting edge of change is Wisconsin's Republican governor Tommy Thompson, who pioneered the welfare reform movement six years ago with the implementation of Learnfare, which reduced benefits to AFDC families whose teenagers did not stay in school.

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Ms. Hill is a reporter with *The Washington Post* who covers social issues in the Washington, D.C., area.

Welfare

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By the summer of 1993, Thompson will put into practice a sweeping new reform package that will award only half the normal benefit increase to welfare mothers when they bear a second child and will freeze or cap benefits for the third and subsequent children. (Medical coverage and food stamps would remain unaffected.) To make up for these lost benefits, Thompson argues, recipients should get jobs. "What we are trying to do is point out that the system is actually broken," he says. "My goal is to give people hope, the tools necessary to get off welfare, and to inculcate responsibility in people on welfare."

Not all of Thompson's proposals are seen by advocates for the poor as negative or punitive. For example, Wisconsin would also remove the requirement that one parent in a two-parent family have a work history and work less than 100 hours a month to qualify for AFDC—a requirement that is widely viewed as keeping very young couples from marrying. Furthermore, AFDC parents who work could keep more of their earned income before losing benefits.

The Bush administration is right in step with the reform parade. In his State of the Union address, the President pledged to reform welfare, and in April the federal Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), in line with the president's position, granted a waiver to Wisconsin permitting the state to depart from federal welfare rules. Subsequently, 20 other states have asked for similar waivers.

Attempts at approaching reform rationally have been clouded by presidential campaign politics, replete with scapegoating rhetoric and code words. Commenting recently on the fictional Murphy Brown television character, Vice President Dan Quayle seemed to speak for many conservatives who believe that people are poor or have children outside of wedlock because they are somehow not sufficiently steeped in "family values." There's nothing new in the vice president's comments. Attacking welfare recipients has been a sure way to score politically with white working- and middle-class voters throughout the 1980s.

At the same time, the Bush administration has made it increasingly difficult for poor women to plan the size of their families. Family planning clinics that receive federal funds are no longer allowed to mention abortion as an option, and some of the Reagan-Bush appointees on the Supreme Court have signaled their intentions to block a woman's right to an abortion (such as in the *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v.Casey* decision this June). Meanwhile, federal research on new birth control methods has been minimal, and the Food and Drug Administration has been slow to approve innovative birth control techniques used successfully in other countries.

While the myth of the black "welfare queen" with numerous children lingers, the facts show a different picture. Blacks do not comprise the majority of AFDC recipients, but account for 39.7 percent, while whites make up 38.1 percent and Latinos 16.6 percent. And while 66 percent of the 13.6 million AFDC recipients are children, AFDC families generally have fewer children than typical non-welfare households. Seventy-two percent of welfare families have two or fewer children (42 percent have only one child).

Not to be perceived as too liberal on the issue, Democrat Bill Clinton, who has been less clear than George Bush on how he would change the welfare system has vowed "to put an end to welfare as we have come to know it." Clinton has voiced his support for JOBS, and he has promised that if elected, he would cut off public assistance to anyone still on the rolls after two years. Although the candidate boasts that an experimental welfare-to-work program in Arkansas, known as WORK, reduced welfare rolls by seven percentage points after the first three years of implementation, figures from the Arkansas Human Resources Department indicate that the number of aid recipients has actually grown by 12 percent since WORK has gone into effect.

Teaching Responsibility or Assigning Blame?

Donna Paluka, president of the New Jersey chapter of the National Organization of Women, opposes a proposal by black Democratic state assemblyman Wayne Bryant, which would ban increased grants in New Jersey to mothers who bear additional children. In Camden, the community Bryant represents in the state assembly, 50 percent of the families depend on welfare as their primary source of income. Bryant wants a recipient parent to work, even for only 15 hours a month, to earn the $64 she (or he) would be disallowed if another child were born while on welfare. Bryant's proposal would allow for additional money for job training and child care; require that teen mothers stay in school as a condition of receiving benefits; and allow couples to marry without fear of losing benefits. "We must have a system that says you must be responsible for your acts," says Bryant.

But Paluka contends that without full funding of welfare grants, especially when a woman has another child, "families are not going to be able to make ends meet and pay rent and then you are out. The whole movement seems to be a matter of trying to control people's behavior by hurting them or oppressing them, instead of being based on teaching responsibility in a positive way...I say, pay the people more annually who *haven't* had additional children." Advocates for the poor emphasize the need to examine the economic realities in a state with 9.2 percent unemployment before imposing employment regulations.

Carolyn Colvin, secretary of the Maryland Department of Human Resources and a single black mother herself, has proposed a more moderate approach. Under Colvin's plan, which has been federally approved, clients will see their grants decrease by 20 percent but will have an opportunity to "earn back" that money by proving that their children are in school and receive regular

(Continued on back page)

July 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- A national survey of African Americans released by Home Box Office and the Joint Center reveals black attitudes on presidential politics and social issues.
- Mississippi mayor Unita Blackwell receives a MacArthur "genius" award.
- **Across the Nation** looks at black Democratic and Republican congressional nominees in Alabama and Virginia, and "Able" Mabel Thomas challenges John Lewis for his U.S. House seat in Georgia.

Survey Shows Black Disapproval of Bush

According to a survey released by the Joint Center and Home Box Office (HBO), black Americans are generally dissatisfied with President **GEORGE BUSH**'s leadership and the direction of the country. This presidential election year, when black voters represent a substantial share of the voting-age population in major states that may determine the outcome of the presidential election, their attitudes are of special significance. However, of the presidential hopefuls, Arkansas governor **BILL CLINTON** led the field with the support of 43 percent of those polled, followed by Bush with 13 percent and 14 percent for Texas billionaire **H. ROSS PEROT** who ended his undeclared presidential candidacy on July 16.

The field work for the poll was performed by OMNIFACTS, Inc. of Philadelphia which surveyed 750 individuals by telephone from June 22 to 30. The survey was conducted in connection with the Voices of the Electorate Town Meeting project. Voices of the Electorate, a two-phase project developed by the Alvin H. Perlmutter Independent Production Fund (IPF), will initially use local television stations and the Spanish-language network Univision to broadcast African American and Hispanic town meetings in nine cities across the country. Black and Latino citizens will discuss the issues that they want the presidential candidates to address in the 1992 campaign. In the second phase, two one-hour Voices of the Electorate specials produced by IPF will chronicle the town meetings. "The African American Voter" and "The Hispanic American Voter" will air on PBS on Sunday, September 20, and Monday, September 21. Presidential candidates will be offered an opportunity to respond to black and Hispanic concerns discussed during the town meetings. The following is a synopsis of some of the other findings in the HBO/Joint Center survey.

Partisanship and Ideology. Black Americans continue to identify strongly with the Democratic Party. Seventy-two percent identified themselves as Democrats, 23 percent as Independents, and 5 percent as Republicans. When the Independents were asked if they leaned to one major party or the other, 59 percent indicated that they leaned toward the Democratic Party. While identifying themselves as Democrats, most black Americans did not identify themselves as liberals as some might have expected. Thirty-three percent of those surveyed characterized themselves as conservative, 30 percent as moderate, and 29 percent as liberal. These are of course self-identifications and not necessarily consistent with any particular theoretical definition of liberal and conservative.

Disapproval of Bush and Dissatisfaction with the Nation's Direction. Eighty-eight percent of those surveyed expressed dissatisfaction with the direction the country was headed. This finding corresponded with a 77 percent disapproval rating for George Bush's job performance. Most disagreed with the Bush administration's assessment that the Great Society programs established during the Johnson administration in the 1960s have been the source of the nation's urban ills, and 71 percent of those surveyed blamed the Reagan and Bush administrations for the problems of the cities. Congress did not escape blame. There was a 66 percent disapproval rating for Congress. Accompanying this disapproval of Congress's job performance was a 65 percent support for term limitations.

Presidential Preference and Public Personalities. Those surveyed were asked if they could identify the four major candidates for president/vice-president—George Bush, Bill Clinton, H. Ross Perot, and **DAN QUAYLE**, and four major national black figures—Rev. **JESSE JACKSON**, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff **COLIN POWELL**, Supreme Court Justice **CLARENCE THOMAS**, and Virginia Governor **L. DOUGLAS WILDER**. Those who could identify the eight, were asked to rate their feelings toward them.

President Bush and Vice President Quayle were evaluated very negatively by the survey respondents. Bush's favorable/unfavorable ratings were 28 percent/60 percent. Quayle's ratings were similar (25/56). Clinton's favorable/unfavorable margin was 57/21 with a more than 2 to 1 positive margin. H. Ross Perot was viewed more favorably than unfavorably but by a margin of only 9 percent (35/26). Thirty-nine percent of those surveyed responded either neutrally or had no opinion of Perot. The presidential preferences expressed in the survey were surprising for the large number of "undecideds" and "none of the aboves." Twenty percent of those surveyed indicated that they were undecided with another 11 percent expressing support for none-of-the-above.

Rev. Jesse Jackson retains strong support in the black community. His positives were 77 percent and they outnumbered his negatives by 66 percent. Colin Powell was very positively viewed by those surveyed (67/11) as was Douglas Wilder (56/16). Clarence Thomas's positives outnumbered his negatives (45/30), but of the four black public figures, he had the largest share of unfavorable ratings. When asked whether Clinton should pick Jackson for his running mate, despite Jackson's high positive ratings only 47 percent said *yes*, with 30 percent responding negatively and 23 percent being uncertain.

The Clarence Thomas Nomination. A majority of those surveyed expressed support for Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court. Approvals outnumbered disapprovals by more than 2 to 1 (61 percent to 27 percent). Those who disapproved, however, were more likely to express the intention of voting to punish their U.S. senator if he or she voted contrary to their wishes (65 percent to 25 percent).

Affirmative Action and Military Spending. Seventy-eight percent of those polled agreed that affirmative action should be used in hiring and promotions as a remedy for past employment discrimination; 15 percent disagreed. On shifting savings from military spending cuts to aid U.S. cities, 81 percent in the survey favored such a proposal to 16 percent who were opposed.

Abortion and Safe Sex. On abortion, 33 percent support a woman's right to have an abortion with no restrictions, 47 percent support abortion rights with some restrictions, and 17 percent oppose abortion in all circumstances. An overwhelming 78 percent of those interviewed said they favored free condom programs in high schools to control the spread of AIDS. A lesser majority (53 percent) also favored needle exchange programs to limit the spread of AIDS among intravenous drug users.

Education A Priority. Education is a key issue among black Americans. Thirty-one percent of those surveyed said that education should be the key issue in the presidential election. Furthermore, there is a consistent pattern of wanting change. Half those surveyed (49 percent) think that black children do not receive as good an education as white children. An overwhelming number of people (84 percent) think that the government is spending too little on education, with a similar number (86 percent) favoring equalization of funding across school districts. Responses were mixed to a variety of educational programs and issues. There was substantial support for back-to-basics programs (75 percent), Afrocentric education (80 percent), special schools for young black men (63 percent), and there was a plurality of support for the elimination of tracking in public schools.

National Health Insurance. Support for universal health coverage was nearly universal among those surveyed. Ninety-one percent supported guaranteed health insurance coverage for all Americans.

Fear, Crime, and the Death Penalty. Fifty-three percent of those surveyed indicated that they lived within two or three blocks of an area where they were afraid to walk alone at night. Accompanying this fear was the perception that many young men in their neighborhoods carried guns: 46 percent of those responding said that they thought most or some of the young men in their neighborhood carried guns. About a third of those interviewed said that street gangs were active near their homes. Seventy percent of those surveyed supported a ban on the sale of assault-type weapons and semi-automatic rifles. Forty-eight percent of those surveyed support the death penalty, with 42 percent opposing it. Support for the death penalty is thus considerably less among black Americans than among the general population whose support has been running in the range of over 70 percent.

The L.A. Riots. Only nine percent of those surveyed expressed the opinion that the rioters in Los Angeles were justified because of the **RODNEY KING** verdict. Thirty-six percent expressed generalized condemnation of the riots, feeling that they were not justified regardless of the King verdict. Half those surveyed, however, expressed somewhat ambivalent feelings, indicating that they did not approve of the rioters' behavior, but that they understood their frustration and anger.

"Black" Still Preferred. When those polled were asked how they preferred to describe themselves ethnically, 53 percent preferred the term "black." Thirty-four percent described themselves as "African American," and almost seven percent used the term "person of color." Comparative survey analysis indicates that while "black" is still the preferred term of self-description among black Americans, its use is declining. However, the preference for "African American" has increased significantly over the last two years. In the Joint Center's 1990 annual nationwide survey, a random sample of 759 black Americans were asked to respond to a similar question. In that poll, 72 percent preferred the term "black" and 15 percent preferred "African American."

Do Blacks Need a Third Party?

The Joint Center assembled a panel of political leaders and national commentators to respond to the survey findings. The panel included Joint Center President **EDDIE N. WILLIAMS**, who served as moderator; U.S. Representative **MAXINE WATERS** (D-Cal.); Kansas City Mayor **EMANUEL CLEAVER II**; **KEVIN PHILLIPS**, editor/publisher of *American Political Report*; and George Mason University Professor **ROGER WILKINS**. Wilkins attributed the low approval rating for President Bush among African Americans to the president's continuation of the Reagan administration's hostility to blacks, as demonstrated by the 1988 Willie Horton campaign ad and Bush's reluctant signing of the Civil Rights Act after two years of refusing to do so. Waters was more blunt—she called Bush a racist who has polarized the country. Wilkins said that blacks will not move over to the GOP until its leadership changes its attitudes toward them and becomes committed to the idea that "racial decency will no longer be the monopoly of the Democratic Party."

Two of the panelists exemplified Clinton's broad but qualified support among black leaders. Waters asserted that while she supports Clinton for president, he is the standard bearer "for a party that is trying to get to the White House without looking too black, too female, or too urban." Cleaver, who also supports Clinton, expressed concern that the candidate slipped on the race issue by criticizing singer **SISTER SOULJAH** at a forum convened by Jesse Jackson and endorsing the Crime Bill as a response to the L.A. riot. "Clinton's going to have to make up his mind as to whether he wants to be a president who speaks morally about race," Cleaver said.

Waters saw in the survey findings the basis for the creation of a third party. She asserted that the consistently low number of black Americans who identify as Republicans and the decline in the number of blacks who call themselves Democrats are indications that "the umbrellas of the two major parties aren't big enough to include everyone." She said that if the Democratic Party continues to avoid directly addressing major concerns of black Americans, such as affirmative action and urban problems, the marriage between blacks and the party may have to be dissolved and blacks may have to find political expression in a third party. This may also be true for women, labor organizations, and other groups, she added. Interestingly, as previously mentioned, few of the blacks surveyed embraced the third party candidacy of H. Ross Perot. Mayor Cleaver offered this explanation: "Being conservative by nature, blacks are not prone to go on blind dates."

The Genius Mayor

Mayersville Mayor **UNITA BLACKWELL** is among the 33 recipients of the distinguished MacArthur "Genius" Fellowship for 1992. The veteran civil rights activist and president of the National Conference of Black Mayors will receive a grant of $350,000 over a five-year period to do with as she pleases. Blackwell received the award in recognition for her work in the civil rights movement and her service as mayor. She was responsible for bringing water, housing, and sewage facilities to the small rural town (fewer than 400 residents) that she helped incorporate. She has been mayor of Mayersville since 1976. (Joint Center President Eddie N. Williams received a MacArthur Award in 1988.)

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: Democratic State Senator **EARL HILLIARD** and GOP farmer **KERVIN JONES** from Tuscaloosa, both African Americans, were the victors in the June 30 runoffs of their respective parties' nominations for the 7th congressional district seat. Winning by 51 to 45 percent, Hilliard of Birmingham barely turned back his black senate colleague **HANK SANDERS**. Jones defeated Birmingham businessman and minister **JONATHAN McPHERSON, SR.**, by a 19 percentage point spread. (See June 1992 Across the Nation) Hilliard and Jones will face off in November for the opportunity to be the state's first black member of Congress since Reconstruction.

GEORGIA: Black veteran civil rights activist and Atlanta Congressman **JOHN LEWIS** will be challenged for the Democratic nomination to his 5th congressional district seat by state representative **"ABLE" MABEL THOMAS** in the July 21 primary. A four-term state legislator, Thomas serves on the education, industrial relations, and special judiciary committees. During her tenure in the General Assembly, Thomas has made a name for herself as an outspoken advocate for grassroots community and women's concerns. She has succeeded in getting two major pieces of feminist legislation passed: a bill enacted this year, which requires mandatory coverage of mammograms and PAP smears by insurance companies operating in the state, and the 1989 Rape Shield Act, which prohibits discussion of a victim's sexual history during a rape trial. She has also thrown her support to issues such as low-income housing. Despite her visibility and legislative accomplishments, Thomas is not expected to pose a serious threat to Lewis. Local observers point out that the three-term congressman has acquired a strong track record in constituent services and has distinguished himself in the House Democratic leadership with his appointment last year as a deputy whip.

NORTH CAROLINA: In the May 5 primary, Raleigh city council member **RALPH CAMPBELL, JR.**, narrowly won the Democratic nomination (42 percent of the vote) for state auditor in a three-way contest. A four-term council member and former mayor *pro tem*, Campbell will face white Republican **VERNON ABERNATHY** in the November general election. Campbell, an administrative officer in the state department of insurance, has professional experience as an auditor with the state health benefits office and the department of revenue. The state auditor is responsible for the review of state government financial records and evaluating the economic efficiency of state agencies.

RHODE ISLAND: **NAOMI DAVIS YOUNG**, a black Republican and housing consultant from Providence, is running for the 2nd congressional district seat currently held by white Democratic first-termer **JOHN REED**. Young, who has never held an elective office, is making her second attempt for the congressional seat. She sought the Republican nomination in 1990 but was unable to get the required number of signatures from registered voters to secure a spot on the ballot. She will take on white Coventry businessman **JAMES BILL** in the September 15 primary. The 2nd district has a black population of 4.3 percent.

Also in Providence, three-term black state representative **RAY RICKMAN** is seeking the Democratic nomination for secretary of state. Rickman, 43, sits on the labor committee, has served as executive director of the Providence Human Relations Commission, and is the owner-operator of Cornerstone Books in Providence. Rickman is given a slim chance of defeating the two-term incumbent **KATHLEEN CONNELL**. The 55-year-old Connell has more than 20 years' experience in state and local politics, including stints as a state senator and as a council and school board member in Middletown. The secretary of state oversees a staff of more than 55 with an annual budget of $2.2 million and serves as secretary of the state senate. Other duties include managing the elections, government records, archives, and library divisions of the state government and overseeing corporations and lobbyists.

VIRGINIA: In the June 9 race for the Democratic nomination to the majority black 3rd congressional district, State Senator **ROBERT C. "BOBBY" SCOTT** soundly defeated two other black candidates: four-term state delegate **JEAN CUNNINGHAM** and attorney **JACQUELYN EPPS**, both from Richmond. Scott, a Newport News attorney and 14-year veteran of the state legislature, won 67 percent of the vote, greatly out-polling Cunningham and Epps who received 21 and 12 percent of the vote, respectively. In the November general election, he will oppose black Richmond Republican **DAN JENKINS**, a businessman and electronics technician with Philip Morris USA. Jenkins won the party nod over Richmond bail bondsman **FREEMAN McCULLERS** at the Virginia GOP's May 16 state convention. (See April 1992 Across the Nation)

In Northern Virginia, the city of Alexandria's black vice mayor **BILL CLEVELAND** was unsuccessful in his bid for the Republican nomination to the predominantly white 8th congressional district, which includes jurisdictions in the Washington, D.C., suburbs including Alexandria, Arlington, and Fairfax County. Cleveland came in second with 28 percent of the vote in a three-way battle. White attorney **KYLE McSLARROW** was the victor, winning 54 percent of the vote. (See February-March 1992 Across the Nation)

The Myth of Homogeneous Japan

Japan's Biggest Minority Group, the Burakumin, Fights Discrimination Based on the Legacy of a Feudal Social Class System

by Yasumasa Hirasawa

The following is an edited version of a speech given by Dr. Hirasawa on May 5 at a symposium sponsored by the Joint Center's U.S.-Japan Project in collaboration with the National Intercultural Education Leadership Institute at the University of Maryland.

In some product areas like cars and consumer electronics, Japan may be more successful than the United States. But when it comes to its capacity to accommodate diversity as a source of national strength, Japan and its people do not have a good record. Japanese society has forcibly assimilated the indigenous Ainu people who inhabited Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan; colonized Koreans in the early 20th century, treating them like second-class citizens in their own land; and has also refused to open Japan to refugees and migrant workers from abroad. Domestically, the Japanese society has created finely tuned systems of social stratification in which vestiges of the caste-like status system are the most infamous. Burakumin or Buraku people are victims of that status system. Japan as a "homogeneous nation" is a myth created in this historical context, and that myth has disturbed both domestic minorities and Japan's relationship with other countries.

Many Japanese companies saw no shame in not hiring minorities when they set up plants in the U.S., violating American affirmative action guidelines. Japanese businesses have not only brought capital and technologies with them to the United States, but also troublesome mindsets that are conducive to discrimination against minority populations and women.

The Buraku People: Outcasts by Command

Burakumin or the Buraku people are the largest minority population in Japan, residing in about 6,000 communities nationwide, and with a population size of about three million. They are physically and ethnically indistinguishable from other Japanese people. They speak the same language, have no discernible accents. Except by checking their kinship origin, residential location, or occupations, Burakumin appear to be like other Japanese.

The origin of today's Burakumin can be traced back to the early 17th century when the feudal lord created a four-tier class system similar to the Indian caste system. The Samurai or warrior class constituted the ruling class, followed by the Nomin, farmers; the Komin, craftsmen; and the Shonin, the commercial class. The traditional term for Burakumin was "Eta," a class below the other classes, referring to an outcast population. Like the term "Nigger," Eta is derogatory and literally means "filth-abundant" people. Burakumin came from various social backgrounds—such as peasants, hide-tanners, and shrine servants. But once the status system was established, the outcast people were forcibly settled in areas almost inhabitable, such as under cliffs, in swamp areas, or on river beds and forced to do such socially hated jobs as disposing of dead cattle and horses or arresting and executing criminals.

In many societies, slaves, immigrants, certain ethnic groups, and other minorities have traditionally been made to engage in peripheral "3D" jobs—demanding, dirty, and dangerous. In the case of feudal Japan, the outcast category was created within the Japanese population to serve social needs. They had no land to cultivate but provided their labor to nearby farmers. There was also a political intention to creating this outcast group. The presence of the poor and ostracized outcast made it harder for the exploited majority—peasants, who constituted 80 percent of the total population—to view their social position objectively. They could comfort themselves by saying, "at least we are not the most miserable."

Today some urban Buraku communities are big, with more than 10,000 people; other small ones have only a couple of households and are mostly concentrated in the western part of Japan. Although the Emancipation Edict was issued in 1871, no substantive measures were enforced to redress past inequalities. A vicious cycle of poverty, underachievement in schools, and limited job opportunities continued. It was not until 1965 that the central government officially admitted that Buraku discrimination was still alive.

Buraku community improvement measures have been implemented for nearly 30 years, and now the appearance of most Buraku communities is not much different from non-Buraku communities. However, when it comes to occupational and educational achievement, there are still some significant differences between the two. The rate of advance to colleges and universities for Buraku students is about half the national average. The high school dropout rate is two to three times higher among Burakumin than

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Japan

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non-Burakumin, and employment and marriage-related discrimination against Buraku people are still common. Today, detective agencies are employed by families and employers to trace the ancestral origins of prospective employees or marriage partners. Data banks are maintained and computer lists of the names of those believed to be of Buraku origin are secretly purchased.

Low Marks on Human Rights

Japan has grown rich and is now expected to play a more prominent political leadership role among the community of nations. But Japan's economic success has been built upon the sacrifice of workers who can only live in homes not much better than rabbit hutches, even if they work more than 2,000 hours a year. Average workers cannot not even buy their own homes because the price of land has skyrocketed. These are the people who work hard and with dignity to build a better life for their families and communities.

Of course, some overall human progress has been made as the result of community-based movements by Burakumin themselves. Since 1922, liberation movements known as Suiheisha (or "the Levelers") have been vital to the Buraku people, resulting in powerful coalitions. But the human rights record of Japan received a rather poor grade from the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations. And Rev. Jesse Jackson has said that Japan is a human rights deficit nation.

School Initiatives to End Discrimination

The movement towards Dowa ("Integration") in education started after World War II under the new democratic constitution of Japan. Initially led by only a small number of committed teachers who worked with Buraku children, the Dowa education movement today is a most influential agent for change in Japanese education.

In the early 1950s, many Buraku children were not enrolled in schools. Consequently, Buraku parents did not place high expectations on education because of the educational system's tradition of discouraging Buraku students from employment opportunities, especially if they were high-achievers. The first task of the Dowa education, then, was to attain equal educational opportunities for Buraku children.

The second task was to improve school curricula and teaching practices. Up until the 1970s, the school textbooks officially sanctioned by the Ministry of Education had made no mention of the Burakumin or their historical origin. Efforts were made to include Buraku-related reading and historical materials in school curricula. At the same time, additional teachers were assigned to schools that enrolled Buraku children. These teachers monitor the learning of Buraku children in regular classes or offer "special pull-out compensatory classes," tutorial classes which augment students' possible weak areas of study.

The third task involved strengthening the ties between the Buraku communities and schools. Since the Burakumin have historically been segregated and scattered into different areas, the Burakumin movements strongly rely on community-level participation. Teachers frequently visit student's homes to understand the life of Buraku children better and to maintain frequent communication with parents. In the evening, children gather at the community center to learn the history and issues of the Buraku movements, do their homework, and get supplementary tutoring from community workers and teachers from the school.

The fourth task of Dowa education was to develop innovative approaches to studying Buraku history. In the past, when Buraku issues were discussed in classrooms, teachers frequently emphasized the misery and suffering of the Buraku people. This just discouraged Buraku children rather than empowered them.

In Dowa education, the focus shifted to the historical contributions of discriminated-against people. For instance, in medieval Japan, marginalized people created the prototypes of Noh and Kabuki, two traditional forms of drama, and built beautiful rock gardens that are major tourist attractions in Japan. Marginalized people defended their human dignity courageously, even under severe discrimination. In a way, they nurtured the foundation of Japanese democracy.

Toward Global Citizenship

Today more Japanese are becoming aware that globalization is not just making direct investment and exporting products, but also becoming good corporate citizens and perceptive of local values. Japanese officials have learned from recent international criticism that they need to be more sensitive to the human dignity of others.

Members of the Human Rights Education Network (HRE), an educational organization based in Osaka and committed to addressing problems in global education, feel there is a need to transform the image Japanese citizens have of American minorities. The image of blacks in the Japanese media often accompanies images of crime, poverty, and drugs.

Most Japanese are not aware that there are many black mayors, scholars, corporate executives, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, and that most blacks are hard-working people who are committed to their families. Michael Jackson, Eddie Murphy, and Magic Johnson are not the only successful black role models. Therefore, it is important to include in the curriculum of Japanese schools materials that portray the strength of diversity in the United States and the important contributions made by minorities.

HRE members are also interested in examining how Americans promote tolerance and learn from those of different backgrounds. These attributes will be important if a new generation of Japanese is to learn to respect the dignity of all peoples and cultivate global peace. ■

Racism in the 1990s: A Policy Challenge

The High Jobless Rate and Today's Subtler Forms of Discrimination Have Complicated the Fight for Equality

by Margaret C. Simms

In the wake of the Los Angeles riots, the Joint Center received numerous calls from members of the media basically asking—"What Do You People Want?" That question is reminiscent of queries by whites in the 1960s in response to the civil rights struggle. Another related question is whether anything has changed in terms of racial progress since that time.

In fact, much has changed. But some of the changes have made it harder to combat racism in the 1990s, in part because the problem is more subtle than it was three decades ago, and in part because racism is more resilient than anyone thought it would be. In addition, racism has been exacerbated by the adverse economic climate.

Few Jobs and a Glass Ceiling

The gains that blacks have made as a result of the enforcement of the civil rights laws enacted in the 1960s are reflected in the increasing educational attainment of the black population, in particular the tripling of the proportion of the population with college degrees since 1960. These educational gains, along with the effects of two decades of affirmative action, have resulted in a sharply expanded occupational distribution for employed blacks. Consequently, the proportion of blacks with incomes above the median for U.S. households has risen. Young black married couples heading families with two earners are now approaching at least short-term parity with their white counterparts.

But economic equity at the beginning of family life may not hold up over the course of a lifetime because of continuing racial (and gender) barriers to upward mobility. Affirmative action and equal employment laws have been most effective in reducing racism in jobs where objective measures of productivity and concrete comparisons of qualifications are possible. Thus, both entry-level white-collar and blue-collar jobs have been areas of advancement. However, evidence from studies of the "glass ceiling" phenomenon, (including those recently released by the U.S. Labor Department), show quite clearly that movement into upper management and partnership positions is hampered by the inability of minorities and women to "measure up" on subjective criteria such as "compatibility with other managers" and their ability to be "rainmakers" (generate clients and income for the firm).

This problem is compounded by the fact that economic gains have not been evenly spread throughout the black community. While a portion of the black population has benefitted from civil rights legislation and government programs that have made it easier to attain a college education and enter high-wage employment, a significant proportion of the black community remains in poverty. Moreover, some of the black poor have a greater sense of hopelessness than was the case a generation ago.

The fact that fully one-third of black Americans are poor while the black middle class is growing leads some to the conclusion that those who do not advance have personal deficiencies—they "need stronger family values" or "lack individual initiative." As the argument goes, these people are not making progress because they are not taking advantage of educational opportunities nor are they applying for the "many jobs available." Therefore, our remaining problems are ones of "class" and not race.

This class argument is reinforced by the decline in real earnings for young workers of all races, a result of the lower wages and higher joblessness that have accompanied changes in the U.S. economy. But class bonding between blacks and whites is not what has come out of the recent adverse economic experiences of young whites. Instead of seeing their joblessness and lower incomes resulting from slow economic growth and ineffective economic policy, a substantial proportion of the white group sees it as a consequence of affirmative action—a zero-sum game where blacks are advancing at the expense of whites. However, statistics show blacks lagging significantly behind whites in hiring and promotions at virtually every economic level.

Same Goal, New Obstacles

Economic and political obstacles to racial equality are further exacerbated by the growing diversity of the U.S. population. Instead of a black-white issue, racism and discrimination have become multi-ethnic phenomena. The strategies to fight racism developed in the environment of the 1960s and 1970s may not be effective today. The challenge is to find ways of pursuing racial justice in a society where the remaining barriers are obscured by the progress of some blacks, and where white resistance to affirmative action is perceived as self-preservation. The task is not impossible, but we must approach it recognizing that while the goal of racial equality has not changed, there are new obstacles to achieving that goal. ■

This article is based on a presentation by Dr. Simms before the Association of Black Foundation Executives in New York City on June 13. Dr. Simms is an economist and director of research programs at the Joint Center.

Welfare

(Continued from page 4)

preventative health care. She also has proposed community service for those who are not in job training.

And although Maryland has cut grants seven percent in the last year and trimmed general assistance for the disabled—largely because of Maryland's poor economy—Colvin says she disagrees with Bryant and others that eliminating benefits is the best way to push people toward self-sufficiency. "The benefit level is so inadequate that it never provides sufficient margin to allow people to pull themselves out of the depths of poverty," Colvin says. "We have to remember the reasons for AFDC—to provide for the dependent child."

Washington state has implemented what many consider one of the more responsive reform initiatives. Its voluntary Family Independence Program (FIP) relies more on the carrot than the stick. FIP works with AFDC families to develop long-term self-sufficiency, providing for child care for parents attending school or job training classes or busy searching for jobs. FIP also coordinates with the Employment Services Department and other state agencies to encourage clients to take advantage of employment and training opportunities. Teen mothers are encouraged to stay in school and participate in available courses on parenting skills. Once a welfare recipient gets a job, transitional child care and medical services are extended for up to a year.

Ruth Massinga, chief executive of the Casey Family Programs, a Seattle-based family preservation organization, urges caution and methodical evaluation of each change in welfare programs rather than a headlong push for reform when it is not at all clear whether some of the proposed changes will be helpful or devastating to families. "We have always taken a carrot and stick approach," says Massinga. "But we have to focus more on figuring out what are the right carrots and what will be their effects?" ■

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Volume 20, No. 8 **August 1992**

R5685-4

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

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ISSN 0740-0195

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Focusing on Substance, Not Symbols

Since the "great communicator," Ronald Reagan, came to Washington nearly a dozen years ago, public officials have fed the American electorate large portions of symbols and rhetoric as substitutes for substance. The Reagan and Bush administrations have supplanted substantive policies with slogans such as "quotas," "family values," and "cultural elite."

The emphasis on symbols over substance is not unique to Republicans. On the floor of Madison Square Garden at last month's Democratic National Convention, one black political leader was heard to say of Clinton's acceptance speech, "He isn't talking about our issues—full employment and affirmative action—he's not signalling that he will help the poor." It may be that a narrow focus on symbols has prevented certain leaders from recognizing the power and influence that African Americans enjoy in the party as a whole.

For example, the 771 black delegates at this year's Democratic convention made up 17.9 percent of the total number of delegates, the second highest number in history (there were 962 black delegates or 23.1 percent in 1988 and 697 or 17.7 percent in 1984). Moreover, blacks were well represented among the convention decision-making committees—platform, rules, and credentials—and were prominent in the leadership of these committees. Among the speakers who gave voice to the party's objectives and aspirations were former Texas congresswoman Barbara Jordan; civil rights veteran and Georgia congressman John Lewis and his colleague Maxine Waters, who represents the troubled community of south-central Los Angeles; U.S. senate candidate from Illinois, Carol Moseley Braun; and Jesse Jackson, whose presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988 spurred the registration of hundreds of thousands of black voters and encouraged the candidacies of numerous African Americans.

Democrats emerged from the most successful convention in recent memory as more unified than at any time since the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976. The convention's venue, New York, which has long epitomized urban crime and decay, was squeaky clean and on its best behavior thanks in no small measure to the city's black mayor David Dinkins. But the architects of the party's success and unity in New York were its black chairman, Ron Brown, and convention chief executive officer Alexis Herman, who has been Brown's close collaborator as he rebuilt the party after the disastrous 1988 Dukakis campaign.

Through Brown's efforts, fractious factions put aside their differences in pursuit of a mainstream consensus in the party. This movement toward the center also is reflected in the political attitudes of blacks. In a national survey of African Americans released on July 8 by the Joint Center and Home Box Office, only 29 percent of those polled characterized themselves as liberal, 30 percent as moderate, and 33 percent as conservative. Despite these ideological designations, however, most blacks have a strong allegiance to the Democratic party and to a liberal or progressive ideology. The same survey showed that 72 percent of black Americans identified themselves as Democrats, while only 5 percent described themselves as Republicans. Forty-three percent of those polled supported Clinton for president, but 57 percent did not! Fourteen percent supported H. Ross Perot; 13 percent backed President Bush; and fully 30 percent were undecided or supported "none of the above."

The results of the survey, as well as the convention itself, indicate far more substantive involvement by blacks in the Democratic party than may be inferred from the complaints about the absence of certain civil rights symbols. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *FOCUS* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. *FOCUS* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPES, Inc.

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Blacks, Money, and Politics

Political Participation by African Americans Is Expanding to Include Greater Financial Support for Black Candidates

by Michael K. Frisby

When Carol Moseley Braun won the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate in Illinois this spring, she seemed to dispel the conventional wisdom that only the big spenders finish in the winner's circle. The $440,000 she spent on her campaign was dwarfed by the $3 million spent by incumbent Alan Dixon and the $5 million doled out in a multi-million-dollar advertising blitz by the third candidate in the race, Al Hofeld, a wealthy Chicago attorney. The damage Hofeld and Dixon inflicted on each other in the costly media war contributed to Braun's victory.

While Braun's win may serve to boost the morale of public advocacy groups outraged at the millions of dollars political action committees (PACs) pour into campaigns, the bottom line is that even the most attractive black candidates usually lag far behind while trying to compete dollar for dollar against white opponents.

Ronald Lester, a leading black pollster based in Washington, D.C., cites Braun's experience as an example of the hurdles black candidates face, even when polling shows that they can be viable. Lester says a survey he conducted in January found that Dixon was vulnerable and that Braun, with her strong base in Cook County, had a chance of upsetting the incumbent. Even armed with that information, he says, soliciting financial support from blacks, labor, and business political action committees "was still like pulling teeth."

Donna Brazile, a black strategist and aide to District of Columbia congressional delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, says, "In politics, money denotes credibility." She maintains that blacks, despite their gains, are still not in the country's political mainstream. According to Brazile, they don't get invited to the power parties where white politicians meet the big financial donors.

But Harvey Gantt, who raised nearly $8 million for his unsuccessful bid to unseat ultraconservative Republican senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, cautions against criticism of black fundraising efforts because many blacks are still new to the political process. "We've only been in this political game for 25 years—one generation," he says. "I think we are getting more sophisticated every day." One key, argues Gantt, is removing the popular perception that a black candidate cannot win when running against a prominent white political figure. When that happens, he says, blacks will give more "early money" to campaigns.

Despite criticisms to the contrary, the black community has stepped forward in recent years with significant financial support for black candidates. Harold Washington, the late mayor of Chicago, relied on funds from his city's minority community during his successful election bids in 1983 and 1987. Other candidates have leaned heavily on small donations from informal fundraisers in black communities. In both 1984 and 1988, the hat was passed for Rev. Jesse Jackson in hundreds of black neighborhood barbecues and basement receptions across the country to support his presidential campaigns. But Jackson aides acknowledge that the bulk of the more than $8 million they raised in 1988 came from a successful direct mail campaign targeting liberal whites.

Yeast and Other White Support

It is unreasonable to expect blacks or any one racial group or political sector to comprise the sole support of black candidates. Contributions from white donors are a crucial component of any black election campaign. EMILY's List (standing for Early Money Is Like Yeast), which supports female, pro-choice candidates, has aided a host of women candidates, including Braun and four black women candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. Each month the group sends letters to more than 100,000 potential donors (mostly white women) asking that they contribute to specific campaigns, and then the donors forward the checks to the candidates.

Lester believes this was a real lifeline for Braun, who at the end of the primary campaign raked in about $2,500 a day from EMILY's List. The early money did make a difference—she has since become one of the darlings of the Democratic Party, with heavyweights like New York Gov. Mario Cuomo hosting fundraisers for her.

Ronald Walters, chairman of Howard University's political science department, says that the blacks recruited by the Republican Party to run for political office are provided significant financial support by the GOP. For instance, freshman Rep. Gary Franks, the only black Republican in Congress, had raised $394,081 by the beginning of the year, one of the highest totals for any Black House member.

Henry Hall, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee, says the party donated the legal maximum of $5,000 to Franks in 1990, but the National Republican Congressional Committee contributed $70,000 in staff work

(Continued on page 4)

Mr. Frisby covers politics and Congress for *The Boston Globe*.

Campaign

(Continued from page 3)

and in-kind-contributions to the candidate. And that year, President Bush attended a fundraiser that raised $250,000 for former police chief Maurice Turner, who ran unsuccessfully on the GOP ticket for mayor of Washington, D.C. Black GOP candidates running in congressional, state, and local races have received similar support in the past, according to many analysts.

By contrast, Walters says state Democratic parties and groups like the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee have not provided similar support to black candidates. One problem, argues Walters, is that these groups, which deliver both funds and technical assistance to candidates, operate independently from the national party and don't have a history of strong assistance to blacks.

A New Sophistication

Walters notes that several years ago there were black PACs devoted to supporting black candidates, but they faded away after it became difficult to raise money. Still, blacks are trying to address the problem of backing black candidates in other ways. This year the Congressional Black Caucus held a fundraiser for Braun, and some of its members contributed to the tough reelection campaigns of colleagues like Reps. Charles Hayes and Gus Savage of Chicago, both of whom lost.

Black entertainers like Quincy Jones and Bill Cosby have also raised money for politicians. In 1990, actress Whoopi Goldberg helped Rep. Maxine Waters of California raise $100,000 at a fundraising event in Los Angeles.

These opportunities are not available to all candidates. At the local level, where candidates are running for city councils, school boards, and statehouses, there is a real struggle for funds. Joyce Ferriabough, a Boston political strategist, notes however that even local politicians are growing more sophisticated. She says that Diane Wilkinson, a candidate for the Massachusetts State Senate, has established a finance committee of black businessmen pledged to raise $5,000 each for her campaign.

By contrast, Boston councilman Charles Yancey, who is running for a congressional seat, knows that fundraising will be a major hurdle in a city where blacks have limited political influence. "I expect it will be difficult," he says. "We haven't been playing this game of politics that long here." But Yancey says another problem is that he does not play the "quid-pro-quo" game. "I believe that if someone wants to support my campaign, I will return his telephone call and thank him. But if he asks me to vote in a way that is against my principles, I won't do it."

Yancey has gone without contributions from Boston's well-heeled real estate and development community, which is the fundraising base for most politicians in that city. The developers and landlords are frequently at odds with the tenant interests in the city, who are Yancey's constituents. Yancey's campaign coffers reflect this division. Yancey raised about $30,000 for his last council race, while James Kelly, a white colleague in the council who has befriended the real estate interests, garnered $97,000. According to Yancey, black politicians are still at the point where they are educating their constituents to register and vote and have not yet concentrated on turning them into financial contributors.

In an example of clout and sophistication, Eva Clayton raised enough money to win the Democratic primary for a new majority-black House district in North Carolina, beating Walter Jones Jr., the son of a retiring white congressman. Clayton raised more than $155,000 for the primary. In addition to contributions from Congressional Black Caucus members, Clayton showed how a black candidate can use a powerful political base to raise money.

In May, 18 black North Carolina state legislators hosted a fundraiser for Clayton just before the General Assembly convened. The message to the labor and business communities was that if they wanted access to black legislators, who represent a strong voting bloc, it would be a good idea for them to throw some financial support to Clayton. The technique was very successful.

An Evolutionary Step

There is reason to believe that black candidates may do better in the future as more and more people, particularly black middle- and upper-income donors, recognize that for good or ill, money is indeed a part of the political process. Mary Ann Spraggins, an executive at the Wall Street investment firm of Smith Barney, is a member of the Democratic National Committee's exclusive Trustees Club, whose membership is reserved for those who have raised more than $100,000 for the party. In May, she brought 60 black heavy donors to DNC headquarters for a briefing by party leaders.

While Spraggins has worked to strengthen the national party, she is also organizing a new political action committee that would channel funds from black business leaders and entertainers as well as offer technical assistance to candidates. "It has been troubling to me that so few blacks participate in the process. We just haven't had the sources to go to in the black community for raising money," she says. Her view may be disheartening to those pushing campaign finance reform, but for now Spraggins plans to work under the current rules to collect the most money possible for black candidates.

To Spraggins, the only way blacks will truly sit at the bargaining table is when there is a pool of dollars behind them. The same spirit is also sprouting in other places, such as in Boston, where black businessmen are also in the initial stages of starting a group that can raise money for candidates. Black businessman Tom Farrington, who owns a successful computer company, is spearheading the effort.

This, Spraggins says, is the next necessary step in blacks' evolution in the political process. She sees it as the 1990s commitment to the black fight for equality that is just taking a different form than the civil rights struggles of other periods in American history. ■

August 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- Black delegates to the GOP convention reach historic numbers.
- The U.S. Supreme Court upholds *Roe* v. *Wade* but leaves the door open for state restrictions on abortions.
- Carol Moseley Braun from Illinois is poised to make history as the first black woman elected to the U.S. Senate.
- **Across the Nation** features the election of Leah Sears-Collins to the Georgia supreme court and congressional runoff races in that state as well as a black consensus candidate for the U.S. House in Wisconsin.

Blacks Top 100 at the 1992 Republican National Convention

This year, black delegates at the Republican National Convention in Houston will number 107, exceeding the 100 mark for the first time in the party's history. The number of delegates, which is 75 percent greater than the 61 delegates four years ago, represents 5 percent of the total delegates, compared to 2.7 percent in 1988. The number of alternates this year is 102.

The state with the largest number is California, with 15 delegates and 15 alternates. Half of the GOP delegation from the Virgin Islands is black and the District of Columbia's delegation is 29 percent black. The other states with relatively high proportions of black delegates are Connecticut (11.4 percent), New Jersey (10 percent), Michigan (9.7 percent), Georgia (9.6 percent), New York (9 percent), and South Carolina (8.3 percent). As an indication of the changes over the past four years, Georgia and South Carolina had no black delegates in 1988, and only 2.2 percent of New York's 1988 GOP delegates were black. The increase in black delegates, however, is probably not a sign that Republican candidates for elective office can expect a significant expansion in black support at polling booths this November.

Six national surveys of African Americans, conducted by the Joint Center between 1984 and 1992, reveal only a slight trend of growing identification with the Republican Party by black voters. In 1984, 5.9 percent of those surveyed identified themselves as Republicans. By 1992, that proportion had increased to 8.9 percent. This low level of attachment to the Republican Party is relatively recent. Until the New Deal era of President **FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**, blacks were overwhelmingly Republicans. Even though most blacks swung their support to the Democratic Party during that time, black Republican identification remained around 40 percent. In the post-World War II period, and continuing to 1964, black identification with the GOP remained between 20 to 25 percent.

The 1964 presidential election resulted in a massive black flight to the Democratic Party because of the party's strong support for the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 in Congress under the leadership of President **LYNDON JOHNSON**. Another reason for the shift was the Republican Party's sharp turn to a conservative agenda as espoused by its 1964 presidential candidate, Arizona Sen. **BARRY GOLDWATER**, who advocated states' rights—the creed of southern segregationists. Since that time, the Republican Party has had little success in garnering support among black voters. According to ABC News exit polls, **RONALD REAGAN** received 11 percent of the black vote in 1984 with **GEORGE BUSH** receiving 10 percent in 1988.

About 70 (less than 1 percent) of the 7,480 black elected officials listed in the Joint Center's roster of black elected officials have voluntarily identified themselves as Republicans. Among the highest-ranking black Republicans is **GARY FRANKS**, U.S. congressman from Connecticut, who was elected in 1990. The only black Republican holding statewide office is **J.C. WATTS**, who was elected in 1990 to the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, a body that regulates, among other things, the oil and gas industry in the state.

Out of 464 black state legislators, four have voluntarily identified themselves as Republicans—**CHRISTINE BROWNLEE** in Arkansas, **CARSON ROSS** in Missouri, and **PRISCILLA ANDERSON** and **THOMAS SMITH, JR.**, both in New Jersey. The largest category of black elected Republicans is judges, 22 in all nationwide.

Supreme Court Leaves Abortion Rights Hanging by a Thread

In an unexpected 5 to 4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court narrowly upheld *Roe* v. *Wade*, its historic 1973 decision affirming that a woman's right to decide whether or not to terminate a pregnancy is a personal liberty protected by the Constitution. At the same time, the Court granted states the power to enact hampering restrictions on abortions unless they impose an "undue burden" on a woman's right to choose. In *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania* v. *Casey*, the Court upheld four provisions of the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act and struck down one.

The following are the provisions upheld: women seeking abortions must receive counseling and wait 24 hours after the counseling to receive the abortion; minors under 18 must obtain parental consent or the approval of a judge for an abortion; no abortions can be performed after 24 weeks of pregnancy unless necessary to save the life of the mother or avoid permanent physical damage; and physicians must keep detailed records of abortions and reasons for performing late-term abortions. The Court struck down the provision requiring a married woman to notify her husband of her intent to have an abortion.

The Court's decision surprised both pro-choice and anti-abortion forces who had expected the Court to overturn *Roe*, a position the Bush administration argued for in its friend-of-the-court brief filed on behalf of Pennsylvania. Justices **SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR, ANTHONY KENNEDY, DAVID SOUTER,** all appointees of presidents Ronald Reagan or George Bush, jointly wrote the majority opinion. *Roe's* author **HARRY A. BLACKMUN** wrote in a separate opinion that all of the state's restrictions were unconstitutional and that *Roe* should remain fully intact. Justice **JOHN PAUL STEVENS** agreed that *Roe* should remain undisturbed. Chief Justice **WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST** was joined by **BYRON WHITE, ANTONIN SCALIA**, and **CLARENCE THOMAS** in voting to uphold all provisions of the Pennsylvania law and overrule *Roe*. The decision was the first opinion of justices Thomas and Souter on the abortion rights issue. During his confirmation hearings, Thomas said he had never thought about nor discussed the *Roe* case.

Democratic presidential candidate **BILL CLINTON** is on record as pro-choice, while President Bush opposes abortion. Some Republicans breathed a sigh of relief at the Court's decision for fear that an outright reversal of *Roe* would make abortion an even bigger campaign issue than it already is, to the detriment of an anti-abortion president. Bush's troubles have also been compounded by a contingent of Republican pro-choice women who have challenged the party's anti-abortion stance. If that were not enough, the Democratic leadership in Congress is pushing the Freedom of Choice Act, which would codify *Roe* through the legislative process. Both houses plan to vote on the legislation and have the Act on the President's desk for a predictable veto before the fall elections.

According to the Women of Color Poll on Reproductive Health conducted by the Washington, D.C.-based Communications Consortium and the National Council of Negro Women, 73 percent of the women of color surveyed believe a woman should make her own decision about abortion—83 percent of black women; 81 percent of Asian women; 80 percent of Native American women; and 55 percent of Latino women.

Twenty-five percent of those surveyed believe abortion should be legal in all circumstances, while 52 percent said they would place some restriction on access to the procedure. Forty-seven percent of those polled said they would be less likely to vote for a politician who spoke out against abortion—51 percent of black women; 56 percent of Asian women; 47 percent of Native American women; and 37 percent of Latino women. Fifty-five percent of the women surveyed support Medicaid funding of abortions for poor women—63 percent of black women approved; 70 percent of Asian women; 61 percent of Native American women; and 30 percent of Latino women. Currently a woman can use federal Medicaid funds to pay for an abortion only if her life is in danger. She cannot use the funds if the pregnancy results from rape or incest.

Carol Moseley Braun's Historic Senate Bid

When **CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN**, 44, unexpectedly won the March 17 Illinois Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate, she became one of the shining lights of campaign '92. With little funding or party support, she received 38 percent of the vote, three percentage points ahead of the incumbent **ALAN DIXON** and 11 ahead of Chicago attorney **AL HOFELD**. Owing her primary victory largely to black and women voters, according to exit polls reported in *The Chicago Tribune*, she received 83 percent of the black vote and four of every 10 votes cast by women. Political analysts project that for Braun to pull off a victory in the November general election, she must build on her base of support from women, particularly Republican women crossing party lines, and the suburban and "downstate" vote.

Braun is no newcomer to politics. She served three terms in the state house of representatives, where she developed a reputation as a skilled negotiator and a coalition builder. During her third term she was elected as assistant majority leader, the first black and the first woman elected to the position. While in the house, she also served as Mayor Washington's hand-picked legislative floor leader and championed measures to reform education, ban discrimination in housing and private clubs, allow direct elections to local school boards, and establish minority and female business set-aside laws. After 10 years as a state representative, Braun was elected Cook County Recorder of Deeds in 1987 with more than one million votes. She says that the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas, which included allegations of sexual harassment, motivated her to run for the senate. This year, the Thomas hearings, the anti-incumbency mood in the country, the perception of women as political outsiders, and politically hot issues like women's reproductive rights have created a political climate ripe for the election of women candidates.

Braun's opponent, **RICH WILLIAMSON**, also has significant political experience. He is a wealthy law partner in a Chicago law firm who has received several presidential appointments from presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. A 43-year-old graduate of Princeton and the University of Virginia Law School, Williamson was a senior white house staffer in charge of intergovernmental affairs for Reagan for two years. He has also served as a U.S. representative to the United Nations in Vienna and as an assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs. In 1988, he was a senior advisor to the Bush presidential campaign.

While he's been a political star in Washington, Williamson may not play well in Peoria or other parts of Illinois. Unlike Braun, Williamson has never run for office and thus has no track record as an elected official and does not enjoy statewide name recognition. State GOP officials have conceded that he is not the best candidate the party could have run, adding that they were caught by surprise because no one expected Dixon, a 43-year veteran of state politics, to lose the primary. Despite his shortcomings, however, Williamson's candidacy is not a marginal one. His strength lies in his financial resources and the fundraising capabilities of the national and state Republican parties. The GOP is prepared to fight as hard for the seat as it did in 1990 when Labor secretary and former Illinois congresswoman **LYNN MARTIN** gave the state's junior senator, **PAUL SIMON**, a spirited but unsuccessful challenge.

The Republican Party has not been shy about playing the race card in election campaigns, and in the Braun-Williamson contest the race-baiting has already begun. According to **MELODY SPANN**, news director of WVON radio in Chicago, a radio ad run by the Williamson camp attempts to paint Braun as a "liberal Chicago machine" Democrat. Spann says the ad also makes references to Braun's political relationship with the late mayor **HAROLD WASHINGTON** and to former presidential candidate **JESSE JACKSON**.

LU PALMER, a Chicago political activist and member of Braun's steering committee, calls the ad a "racist ploy to get whites riled up by portraying Carol as a minion of Harold and Jesse." He points out that the Braun campaign team is integrated in race, gender, and ethnic group, in a fashion similar to the 1983 coalition that ushered Washington into the mayor's office. In terms of Braun's campaign strategy, Palmer says fundraising has been the top priority since the primary win. Braun has traveled throughout the country, speaking at events coordinated to help her reach a monetary goal of $4 million for the general election. She spent $440,000 during the primary.

Each candidate will have to convince voters that she or he can do something in Washington about the state's economic woes. A state that was once an industrial powerhouse, Illinois has been weakened by a dwindling steel industry. Furthermore, layoffs and plant closings have plagued key manufacturing companies—Caterpillar Tractor, John Deere, and International Harvester among them. In June, the state's unemployment rate was 8.6 percent.

Across the Nation

GEORGIA: State supreme court justice **LEAH SEARS-COLLINS**, 37, was elected to a full six-year term on the court in the July 21 primary, defeating Clayton county superior court judge **STEPHEN BOSWELL** 54 percent to 46 percent. Collins' victory makes her the first woman to be elected to the state's highest court. She is also the first black jurist to serve on the court to which she was appointed in February of this year by governor **ZELL MILLER** to fill the vacancy of a retiring justice.

Two of the three races for the state's majority-black congressional seats were determined in the August 11 runoff. In the 2nd congressional district, located in the southwestern part of the state—including Macon, Albany, and Columbus—white six-term congressman **CHARLES HATCHER** was defeated by black state senator **SANFORD BISHOP** of Columbus. Hatcher led a field of five candidates in the July 21 Democratic primary with 40 percent of the vote to Bishop's 22 percent. Bishop had been endorsed by the other three black primary challengers—Albany state representative **MARY YOUNG CUMMINGS**, Macon attorney and minister **LOONZY EDWARDS**, and engineer **STEPHANIE KAGLER** from the town of Warner Robins. Those endorsements paid off in this 52 percent black district. The state's peanut lobby, on the other hand, backed Hatcher because he chairs the House Subcommittee on Peanuts and Tobacco. The election result was Bishop's 53 percent to Hatcher's 47.

In the 11th district, representing parts of Augusta, Savannah, and the southern Atlanta suburb of Dekalb County, black state representative **CYNTHIA McKINNEY** beat former Waynesboro mayor **GEORGE DELOACH**, the only white candidate in the five-person Democratic primary. The vote was 56 to 44 percent. Although McKinney was expected to be among the top vote getters, odds heavily favored her state legislative colleagues, Senator **EUGENE WALKER** of Decatur and Representative **MICHAEL THURMOND** of Athens, to be the likely victors. Heavily supported by local and national women's groups, McKinney campaigned as a "two-for-one" candidate, promoting her race and gender as pluses for the district. Apparently, in this "Year of the Woman," the unique pitch helped. In the July Democratic primary, McKinney received 34 percent of the vote to DeLoach's 22 percent, followed by Walker with 20 percent and Thurmond with 13 percent. McKinney will face **WOODROW LOVETT**, a white farmer from Sardis, who won the Republican runoff, in November.

In the 5th district, three-term Congressman **JOHN LEWIS** easily held off a challenge from Atlanta state representative **"ABLE" MABEL THOMAS**. The final tally was 76 percent to 24 percent. And the state's black commissioner of labor, **AL SCOTT**, lost his post to former secretary of state **DAVID POYTHRESS** (57 percent to 43 percent). In the July 21 three-way primary, Scott outpolled Poythress by one percentage point. Scott, who was appointed commissioner in January 1991, was seeking to be the first black Georgian to be elected to a statewide office.

MISSOURI: With more than a 20,000-vote margin over his nearest opponent, black Kansas City congressman **ALAN WHEAT** turned back an attack from three Democratic challengers in the August 4 primary. The five-term representative is the second black member of Congress to sit on the powerful House Rules Committee (the first was former Atlanta mayor and congressman Andrew Young who served from 1973 to 1981). Some local pundits speculated that Wheat would be in jeopardy since redistricting has added conservative suburban voters to his district, which was originally 75 percent white.

His closest competitor, **FRED ARBANAS**, a popular Jackson county legislator and former member of the Kansas City Chiefs football team, ran an anti-incumbent campaign, citing Wheat's 10 years in the House and highlighting his involvement in the House check-writing scandal (Wheat bounced a total of 86 checks in the 39-month period reviewed) as evidence of the need for change. In the November general election, Wheat's opponent will be Republican Kansas City businessman **EDWARD MOODY**, who came in third in the city's 1991 mayoral campaign last year.

WISCONSIN: After several months of community meetings, a straw vote, and a newspaper survey, county supervisor **TERRENCE L. PITTS** emerged as the "consensus" black candidate for Milwaukee's 5th congressional district seat. Pitts was chosen at a mini-convention of the city's black voters convened in May by a local black political community group called the Brainstorming Committee. Prior to the convention, black alderwoman **MARLENE JOHNSON** announced her candidacy and was endorsed by black state representative **POLLY WILLIAMS**. After the convention the city's militant and flamboyant former alderman **MICHAEL MAGEE**, a sometime Pitts adversary, announced his candidacy. (Magee's formation of a black paramilitary group cost him his alderman's seat this spring.) By mid-July both Johnson and Magee were persuaded by Pitts operatives to step back and support Pitts, who was viewed as the black candidate with the best chance of winning because of his record of service to the party and as a county supervisor. The 52-year-old attorney will vie for the seat being vacated by Democratic congressman **JIM MOODY**, who is challenging the state's Republican senator **ROBERT KASTEN, JR**.

Pitts' competition in the September 8 Democratic primary includes former state representative and county circuit court judge **FRED KESSLER**, attorney **MARC MAROTA**, and state senator **TOM BARRETT**, all white. If Pitts is able to benefit from a strong black turnout (blacks make up 30 percent of the voting-age population) and if he is able to attract white voters, he stands a good chance of winning the nomination. He has strong party ties, including his service as a member of the Democratic National Committee and the executive committee of the state party. During his tenure as county supervisor he has been an advocate for health issues. He chairs the Milwaukee County Committee on Health and has played an integral role in the expansion of health care facilities.

Let's Send Cops to College

One Solution to the Problem of Police Brutality May Be the Recruitment and Training of a New Breed of Police Officer

by James J. Fyfe

What are we to make of the acquittals in April of the police officers who beat Rodney King? Was the King verdict merely a reflection of America's racial divisions or does it indicate that our system of justice doesn't work? It would appear that the King case falls into a gray area of criminal law and its enforcement. For clear-cut common-law offenses like murder and theft, the system works reasonably well, but it bogs down when simple questions of right and wrong are complicated by the issue of professional judgment. For example, it is common knowledge that doctors sometimes perform unnecessary surgery but criminal prosecutions for such assaults are virtually unknown. Lawyers who have encouraged their clients to commit perjury to win cases do so without fear of criminal penalty. Similarly, successful prosecution of cops who abuse their authority to use force are rare.

On the one hand, jurors have little difficulty distinguishing between murder and self-defense, between shop-lifting and simply forgetting to pay the cashier; on the other hand jurors often cannot make the distinction, beyond a reasonable doubt, between fraud and sharp business practices, between unnecessary surgery and cautious medicine, and between police brutality and reasonable force.

A major element in the widespread problem of police brutality is the growing friction between the police and certain segments of the society. Blacks and Latinos living in lower-income, urban environments have come to view a police badge as a symbol of an oppressive system. At the same time, many police officers approach their jobs from a military perspective—seeing themselves as soldiers fighting the "war on crime" or the "war on drugs" where the "enemy" is often a young non-white urban male.

Lawsuits and Reform

While cases like Rodney King's abound, over the years police departments across the nation, often induced by civil litigation, have changed the way deadly force has been used. Since the 1960s, the Supreme Court has handed down a string of decisions that have forced police administrators to develop policies and rules for cops to use in making their most critical street-level decisions. In the 1985 case of *Tennessee* v. *Garner*, involving the fatal shooting 11 years earlier of 15-year-old Edward Eugene Garner as he ran unarmed from a neighbor's empty house after stealing $10, the Supreme Court struck down the fleeing felon rule. This law had authorized police to use deadly force to apprehend unarmed, nonviolent suspects fleeing property crime scenes. But over the two decades preceding *Garner*, most police departments had abolished this rule on their own initiative.

Before the *Garner* case, reform-minded mayors and police chiefs had gradually made conscious efforts to hire minorities and women, to implement more sensitivity training courses, and to utilize more effective police equipment such as chemical sprays and other non-lethal weapons as well as protective gear like bullet-proof vests. These changes have dramatically reduced violence between police and citizens. For example, in 1971, ten New York City cops were killed in the line of duty, compared with two in 1991. Similarly, in 1971, NYPD officers shot and killed 87 civilians; in 1991, they killed six. This is not to suggest that brutality no longer exists, or that it is to be found only in Los Angeles. Thousands of brutality cases are heard in American courts every year.

Until now, the lessons of reform have been ignored in Los Angeles. There, during Daryl Gates' 14 years as chief, outrageous practices became official policy. Lethal chokeholds that compress the flow of blood to the brain were euphemistically relabelled "upper body control holds" and were authorized for use against people who did no more than argue that they did not deserve traffic tickets. The consequence was that, during five years, LAPD officers killed twice as many people (mostly African American) with these holds as police officers in the other 20 largest American police departments *combined*. In addition, over the last several years, LAPD officers have rounded up thousands of young men guilty of nothing more than being in places that officers thought were "wrong." With rare exceptions, the victims of these indiscriminate streetsweeps were released without charges after several hours of detention. LAPD's CRASH unit has vandalized and destroyed homes in searches for evidence they had no reason to believe was there in the first place. Even now the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is preparing to argue in court that, as a reward for finding suspects, Los Angeles police dogs were allowed to bite and maim hundreds of people.

(Continued on page 6)

Dr. Fyfe is a professor of criminal justice at Temple University. A 16-year veteran of the New York City Police Department, he is co-author with Jerome H. Skolnick of *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force*, which will be published by The Free Press in January 1993.

Cops

(Continued from page 5)

Policing the Police

The most common response to the problem of police brutality is the implementation of some sort of review process. Instead, allegations of police abuses are often made to the chiefs of the departments. These department heads can take action against officers only at the risk of exposure to criticism and civil liability for poor supervision of the accused officers.

One remedy for the problem of police chiefs' innate conflict of interest in acting on the performance of officers under their command is civilian review of complaints of police misconduct. Such boards, however, are advisory in nature, and serve only to inform police chiefs of what their fact-finding efforts have determined.

Another approach to curbing police misconduct is the adoption of a peer review model, as practiced in other professions. Florida, which operates what is in effect a licensing agency for local police, currently is the state that comes closest to a system of policing. Under this model, professional associations such as the Police Officer Standards and Training Councils, which exist in 49 of the 50 states, could be given enforcement powers similar to those of state bar associations. Cases of officer misconduct are not only reviewed by the officers' own departments and local civilian review boards but also by peer review panels comprised of their colleagues from other police agencies within the state. Negative findings by such panels could result in suspension or revocation of officers' licenses. Like bar disciplinary panels in the legal profession, this would introduce a long needed dose of impartial peer review to policing.

Some hardliners object to the peer review process because it would compromise chiefs' authority which, they claim, must be absolute, according to the traditional military organizational model that characterizes American policing. This argument for police chiefs' autonomy overlooks a fundamental characteristic of military organization in a democracy. Just as military officers are directly accountable to the President of the United States—an elected, civilian commander-in-chief—police chiefs must be accountable to local elected officials.

The Cop as Soldier

The argument for autonomy also overlooks the fact that police adoption of the military model is a historical accident. The police as we know them were first established in Ireland and England during the early 19th century. At the time, the pyramidal military model, with its rigid chains of command and authority, was virtually the only known way to arrange large organizations. This pyramidal style is most useful in organizations in which the most important decisions are made at the top, by people who must have the big picture in order to direct and coordinate the efforts of large numbers of people. But police work is a one-on-one business in which the most important decisions are made at the lowest organizational level. It is the individual cop who decides to shoot this person, arrest that one.

Thus, police departments have a lot more in common with universities, hospitals, and law firms than with the military. In these organizations, the important operational decisions are made by people on the front line—professors, doctors, and lawyers—rather than by executive staff officials removed from the organization's real action. Yet policing has this structure upside down. The least prestigious, least influential, least admired, most poorly paid cops are precisely the people who do their organizations' most sensitive and demanding work.

Ivy Cops

We should also rethink the role, place, and prestige of the police within our society. The police were originally established by British prime minister Sir Robert Peel (from whose name the friendly term "Bobbie" was lifted) as a domestic defense agency that would be less insular and more representative of the population than the military.

Our police, however, are far more insular than the military. Almost all cops spend their entire careers within single agencies, working with the same groups of people. Despite the fact that many police departments have recently hired large numbers of minorities and women, they have been less successful at integrating by socioeconomic class. With few exceptions, police officers are from lower middle-income families and seldom have educations beyond high school. On the whole, the police remain an enterprise dominated by working-class, white male ethics and attitudes, which place high value on physical courage and willingness to forcibly put down challenges to authority. But when the values of any single group so dominate an institution as powerful as the police, trouble is likely. Because the police have so much authority over *everybody*, they must be representative of *everybody*.

Virtually nobody who has attended any of the country's better public and private universities seeks a job as a police officer because it bears a stigma not shared by less demanding, less sensitive forms of public service. For example, it is acceptable for public-spirited alumni of the Ivies, Stanford, Ohio State, or Ole Miss to become school teachers, social workers, public defenders, or FBI agents. By any objective measure, doing the police job well in a place like south-central Los Angeles, Harlem, Newark, north Philadelphia, Detroit, or Miami's Liberty City is at least as demanding psychologically, spiritually, intellectually, and physically as any of the aforementioned jobs. The consequences for the society to fail to field police officers from a broader spectrum of the population can be profoundly negative. It is evident that bad police work can cause riots, destroy neighborhoods, and alter cities forever. Yet we persist in thinking of policing as unworthy and menial dirty work.

(Continued on back page)

Looking at the National Debt

American Tax Dollars Are Paying for Fewer Federal Programs and Services While Spending for the S & L Bailout and Interest on the Debt Keep Growing

by David C. Ruffin

A great deal has been said of late about the "tax-and-spend" Congress, not only by the White House but at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue by politicians of both parties. Yet despite their mutual recriminations—and the tendency on both sides of the aisle to vote for pork barrel projects—an enormous portion of federal outlays is made up of just two items that lie beyond political preference: interest payments on the national debt and the bailout of savings and loans.

Rising steadily over the years, the federal deficit was most recently estimated by the White House to be $333.5 billion for fiscal 1992 and $341 billion the following year. The interest payments on the debt alone now make up 60 percent of the deficit—in 1991 interest came to $194.5 billion and for the current fiscal year it is projected to reach $198.8 billion. Not only has the dollar amount of this interest grown but during the 1980s it nearly doubled as a percent of total federal expenditures. Between 1963 and 1980 it ranged from 6 to 9 percent of federal spending, but by the end of Ronald Reagan's second term it had climbed to 14.3 percent (see table).

Added to this is the more recent burden of bailing out the nation's savings and loan insitutions, which has cost the government $161 billion since 1986. By conservative estimates, over the next two fiscal years the bailout will cost taxpayers another $155 billion.

Of course, the bailout and interest on the debt account for just a portion of the more than $1.5 trillion in federal outlays projected for next year. The budget also includes mandated programs for education, transportation, energy, social programs, and entitlements such as social security, medicare, and food stamps. While politicians debate the merits of one program as compared to another, millions of Americans rely on and benefit from these expenditures.

Republicans and Democrats in Congress have also created projects designed simply to create jobs or win favor in their own districts. Among the most expensive of such projects is the $8 billion "super collider" for particle-physics research, slated for construction in Texas. It may be more than coincidence in this election year that both President Bush and Governor Bill Clinton have indicated their support for the super-collider. Texas is a state rich in electoral votes.

There are clearly no easy answers to the problems inherent in carrying an enormous federal deficit. And yet solutions will have to be found if we are to have the resources needed to aid our nation's cities, train our workers, and educate our next generation. ■

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of FOCUS

Federal Spending and Interest on the Debt for the Final Year of Each of the Last Eight Administrations

		Net Interest ($ billions)*	Total Federal Outlays ($ billions)*	Interest as a Percent of Federal Outlays
Eisenhower	1960	32.3	473.3	6.8%
Kennedy	1963	34.5	532.5	6.5
Johnson	1968	43.1	745.3	5.8
Nixon	1974	60.3	759.7	7.9
Ford	1976	63.4	885.9	7.2
Carter	1980	90.4	1,010.8	8.9
Reagan	1988	178.0	1,247.6	14.3
Bush	1991	201.8	1,364.0	14.8

*In 1992 dollars, adjusted for inflation.
Sources: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; Joint Center.

Cops

(Continued from page 6)

A Degree for a Shield

Attorney Adam Walinsky, formerly chairman of the New York State Investigation Commission and aide to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, has offered a proposal that would change the popular image of policing and that, in the long run, could dramatically change the nature of policing. *Good* policing, he argues, is a job that requires at least as much skill, training, and social awareness as many careers that require college degrees. Further, he notes, there is some evidence that college-educated police officers receive better performance ratings, fewer citizens' complaints, and generally do better in their careers than officers with less education.

Why not act on this information, Walinsky asks, by creating the equivalent of an ROTC Cadet Corps for police at our colleges and universities. In return for scholarships worth up to $40,000 over four years, participants in the Cadet Corps program would undergo vigorous police training during their summer recesses. Upon graduation, these young people would be required to serve as police officers in their home states for four years. Walinsky's plan, especially if expanded to include other forms of public service, would also make college a reality for many youngsters who are currently locked out of campuses by limited financial resources. In doing so, it would make police departments—as well as colleges and universities—more representative of the communities they serve. Some of these ROTC graduates would stay—and no doubt rise to command positions—while other would leave for other careers. The proposal appears virtually certain to be a part of whatever omnibus crime bill next emerges from Congress, and has also become a regular feature in Governor Bill Clinton's stump speeches.

An ROTC program would help, but despite popular notions police have little to do with the absence of violence on our safest streets, where one rarely even sees a police officer. Safe streets exist in environments of economic security where residents and merchants are spiritually and financially invested in their communities. Streets where there is no such community are dangerous, no matter how many cops are on patrol and no matter how efficiently they perform their work.

For now, we should be instructed by the Rodney King saga. If we pay heed to the police only when their misdeeds spark explosions too big to ignore, and if we continue to think of police work as an endeavor to be avoided by those with first-rate educations and access to other opportunities, we do everybody a great disservice. ■

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Volume 20, No. 9

September 1992

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

New Diagnosis for Cocaine Exposed Infants

Early Predictions About "Unsalvageable" Crack Babies Are Being Revised But Commitments to Prenatal Care and Drug Treatment Are Still Needed

Making Health Care Work for Blacks

The U.S. Health Care System Reaches Few of the Working Poor and Fails to Address Many of the Needs of the Youngest Black Americans

The Plight of Black Male Job-Seekers

The Shrinkage of Manufacturing Employment in Chicago Has Affected Blacks and Mexican Immigrants Very Differently

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

PERSPECTIVE

Presidential Politics and Black Coattails

As this year's presidential race nears the home stretch, political pundits are busy factoring the variables: which candidate will attract the greater share of support from women, which way will the "Bubba" vote go, and who will win the battle for Texas? But figuring out where one major variable—the black vote—fits in the election puzzle requires no analysis. The question is not *how* blacks will vote. For the last 30 years, they have been solidly Democratic and, in presidential elections when Ronald Reagan or George Bush were candidates, their Democratic opponents captured about 90 percent of the black vote. According to a nationwide survey released by the Joint Center and Home Box Office in July, black Americans are dissatisfied with President Bush's leadership and gave him a 77 percent *disapproval* rating for his job performance. Support for the president among those polled was only 13 percent. Indeed, the question this year is *how much* of the black vote will turn out for Bill Clinton.

The significance of black support is dismissed at one's peril. In 1988, black voter registration was just three percentage points behind white registration. And while all the polls show Clinton leading President Bush, the smart money is betting on a close election in which Clinton will need all the black votes he can muster to capture a share of Southern states and key Northern states like New York, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois.

But Jesse Jackson has complained that organized labor, urban America, and the Rainbow Coalition (read "blacks" in the last two groups) have been shut out of the Democratic presidential campaign because it has focused on middle-class whites and "Reagan Democrats." To blunt this charge, while keeping his political distance from Jackson, Clinton has incorporated a growing cadre of black elected officials into his campaign, including Chicago alderman Bobby Rush, who recently defeated Congressman Charles Hayes in the Illinois Democratic primary, to head his black voter mobilization effort.

This move ruffled feathers among some black political leaders since Rush is relatively unknown outside of Cook County. Meanwhile, Democratic National Committee chairman Ron Brown has appointed Jackson to head up the DNC's grassroots voter registration drive. It remains to be seen whether the Jackson and Rush voter mobilization initiatives will work collaboratively or at cross purposes in their efforts to encourage blacks to register and turn out on November 3. But it appears that the involvement of Jackson in the DNC initiative is a shot-gun marriage that the Clinton folks are willing to live with.

Despite the headlines in the major newspapers, the race for the White House is not the only prize in this year's election sweepstakes. Black votes will help determine the outcomes in a half dozen U.S. Senate races and in over 100 contests for U.S. House seats where blacks make up significant proportions of the electorate.

Black votes will be crucial to the historic election bid of Carol Moseley Braun to be the first black woman elected to the U.S. Senate. Black voters also have the power to expand the ranks of the Congressional Black Caucus by a third since black candidates are running in 12 newly created majority-black congressional districts in Maryland and eight of the 11 states of the old Confederacy. Many of these candidates have already won primary elections but their ultimate victories are not guaranteed since most will have opponents in the general election. A high black voter turnout in November could not only result in sweeping these black aspirants into office but it also could carry Clinton to victory on black coattails. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies,** 1090 Vermont Ave., N.W., Ste. 1100, Washington, D.C. 20005-4961 (202) 789-3500. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *FOCUS* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. *FOCUS* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPES, Inc.

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New Diagnosis for Cocaine Exposed Infants

Early Predictions About "Unsalvageable" Crack Babies Are Being Revised But Commitments to Prenatal Care, Drug Treatment, Still Needed

by Katherine McFate and Marla Robinson

The term "crack baby" surfaced in the mid-1980s amid a wave of dire predictions that a growing "biological underclass" of cocaine-exposed infants threatened to overload the country's health care system. Cocaine-exposed children were characterized as socially and mentally stunted, impervious to pain, and incapable of emotion—in short, sub-human creatures who could not develop into normal adults. The media were quick to publish sensationalized albeit tragic stories of the defects of these babies in a way that fit the political rhetoric of the Reagan Administration's War on Drugs.

However, as research on the matter has expanded and become more sophisticated over the past six years, it has called into question many of the early prognoses. Cocaine-exposed children are not turning out to be the lost generation many predicted. With good prenatal and perinatal care, a majority of them may achieve normal development. With help, they can even enter mainstream educational institutions and develop their mental and social capacities with the rest of their peers.

Unfortunately, very few cocaine-exposed children are receiving the help they need. Beset by budget deficits and declining revenues, state and local governments are finding it difficult to maintain current drug treatment services for pregnant mothers, let alone establish new programs that in addition to treatment would provide prenatal care and parenting classes. This is so even though it is clear that such investments would save money in future health costs.

Not by Cocaine Alone

Cocaine use is only one of a number of health risks pregnant mothers impose on the unborn. A number of other drugs, legal as well as illegal, cause similar risks and are more likely to be used during pregnancy than cocaine.

According to the National Institute for Drug Abuse's 1991 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, an estimated 4.5 million American women of child-bearing age admitted to recent use of illicit drugs. About 3.3 million women of child-bearing age use marijuana, the illegal drug most commonly reported, compared to just over 600,000 women admitting cocaine use.

Alcohol is by far the most commonly used legal drug. Women of child-bearing age are 16 times more likely to have consumed alcohol than to have used cocaine. According to Dr. Joel Hay, a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, each year at least 50,000 infants are born alcohol-affected. These infants are likely to experience slower fetal growth and to suffer from cardiac abnormalities, neurological defects, irritability, and sleep dysfunctions. Another 5,000 are severely affected and experience fetal alcohol syndrome—a condition that results in mental retardation and physical deformities.

The second most often used legal drug is nicotine, which surpasses marijuana in the number of users. Over 70,000 babies born each year suffer some physical effects from their mothers' tobacco use during pregnancy. Such use increases the risk of premature delivery and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS).

Nevertheless, policy makers and the media have focused almost exclusively on women who use cocaine and more specifically crack. Unfortunately, this fixation has helped to create the false impression that crack poses the greatest risk to infants. Some babies born to cocaine-abusing mothers emerge healthy and normal; others suffer from severe health problems and physical deformities. The vast majority fall in between these two extremes.

Some of the effects in infants attributed to cocaine use may in fact be the result of multiple drug use over time—or result from combined cocaine and alcohol abuse that is not reported to the researcher. It is not unusual for a crack user to abuse cocaine, alcohol, nicotine, and marijuana in various quantities at various times, depending on availability. However, when asked, drug abusers are likely to name the "primary" or favorite drug used, not all four.

Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish among the *in utero* medical effects on fetuses of drug exposure and of non-drug-related factors such as poor nutrition and poor prenatal care. It is also difficult to distinguish between these prenatal factors and inadequate, unstable care-giving in early infancy in determining the cause of delayed mental and physical development. In reviewing the early research on cocaine-exposed children, researchers are finding that most of the studies were flawed because they did not attempt to sort out the impact of these various factors.

Methods for selecting participants were also flawed. In recruiting maternal cocaine abusers as subjects for some of the early studies, researchers often selected the worst abusers. (This is analogous to determining the effect of alcohol use on fetal development by only studying alcoholic mothers.) These women were more likely than other

(Continued on page 4)

Ms. McFate is a senior research associate, and Ms. Robinson is a research associate at the Joint Center.

Babies

(Continued from page 3)

users to experience health problems related to their drug habits (including poor nutrition and physical abuse) that could also cause birth defects in newborns.

Perhaps the most obvious flaw in the early studies of maternal cocaine use was the failure to identify the degree of prenatal care received by study participants. The lack of prenatal care is associated with low birth-weight and other infant health problems. Even *drug-free* poor women who do not receive prenatal care are at risk of delivering babies whose health problems may result in delayed physical or mental development. Studies that do not control for prenatal care and income level may confuse the effects of poverty and lack of care with the effects of drug use.

Some of the early findings about the impact of cocaine use during pregnancy have been confirmed, although the extent of damage and the ramifications for infants are still unclear. Cocaine use may cause constriction of blood vessels in the placenta and umbilical cord, constraining the oxygen and nutrients that travel to the fetus; this may result in poor fetal development. Women who use cocaine during pregnancy are more likely to have premature, low birth-weight babies than drug-free women. Cocaine-exposed infants may also be at greater risk of dying from SIDS than infants born to non-drug-using mothers.

The Lost Generation Found

The largest and longest study to examine cocaine-exposed youngsters over time is being conducted currently. It is directed by Dr. Ira Chasnoff, president of the National Association of Perinatal Addiction Research and Education at Northwestern University Medical School. Preliminary results from the study show that among the children of serious cocaine abusers/addicts who are now two and three years old, over 60 percent show no physical or mental deficits. Chasnoff recruited more than 300 cocaine-abusing pregnant women who were enrolled in a drug treatment program in the late 1980s. Not all the women remained drug-free during the course of their pregnancy, but all received prenatal care, and ate a balanced diet, and their children enrolled at birth in "well baby" programs, which give parenting advice, health care, and regular check-ups.

A pilot program that was coordinated by the Charles R. Drew Head Start Program based in Compton, California, is showing similar results. Hanna Hunter-Hamilton, the project's coordinator, began working with 42 children who had been exposed to cocaine during their mothers' pregnancy. Hunter-Hamilton examined them initially through home visits soon after birth and later in preschool classes. She has found that the majority of children fall within the normal range of development.

Another recent study by the Perinatal Center for Chemical Dependence based at the Northwestern University Medical School confirms that treatment and prenatal care can have an important positive effect on the health of cocaine-exposed infants. The researchers examined infants born to 23 cocaine-using pregnant women who had not stopped using drugs until the end of their first trimester. The children born to the mothers in treatment were no more likely to be delivered prematurely than those born to drug-free mothers. The drug-exposed babies were also close to normal in size and weight.

Even cocaine-exposed children whose mothers do not receive treatment or prenatal care should not be written off as "unsalvageable." Dr. Judith Howard, a researcher at UCLA, found that drug-exposed children she studied scored within the average range on standardized development tests.

The experiences of other preschool programs operating in California and Florida suggest that, with special assistance, many children identified as cocaine-exposed can achieve developmental norms for their age group and be "mainstreamed" in school. Many of these children do not require the creation of extraordinary interventions to meet their needs, contrary to previous predictions.

No Treatment for Addicted Moms

Unfortunately, the drug treatment resources available in urban areas to female drug users, including pregnant mothers, are few in number and woefully inadequate. Despite a growing body of research documenting successful interventions for cocaine-exposed infants, the Bush Administration has not been forthcoming with new treatment initiatives for pregnant mothers.

In 1990, Joint Center researchers reviewed treatment slots reserved for pregnant women in 10 major metropolitan areas and found pitifully few slots available. In updating this information over the summer of 1992, it was found that little has changed. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that state Medicaid rules still inhibit reimbursements for drug treatment, effectively barring poor pregnant mothers from these services.

One efficient way of ensuring that the children of poor families with substance-abusing mothers receive the services they need would be to reform the Medicaid system. "The Medicaid Substance Abuse Treatment Act of 1991," introduced by Senators Daniel Moynihan (D-NY) and Bill Bradley (D-NJ), would provide more stable funding for existing treatment centers, allow women to enter treatment with their children, and allocate resources to replicate successful programs. Unfortunately, positive action on the bill before Congress adjourns is unlikely.

Drug-exposed children are not a "lost generation." The signs from the medical and educational communities are encouraging. Today we can be cautiously optimistic that with early and proper interventions these children will grow up to lead healthy, productive lives. However, while the federal government has not shown a strong commitment to fund treatment programs and duplicate successful intervention approaches, federal support to already financially over-burdened cities and states is essential if services for pregnant drug abusers are ever to become adequate. ■

September 1992

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- Candidates vie for newly created majority-black districts in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina.
- Groups in Jackson, Mississippi, hold a caucus to select a black consensus candidate to run for mayor.
- The massive departures of congressional incumbents provide new opportunities for black legislators to move up in House committees.
- **Across the Nation** looks at the political comeback of Marion Barry, the former mayor of the District of Columbia; and Jackie Barrett is about to be elected the first black female sheriff of Fulton County.

Redistricting Update

FLORIDA

Because the Florida house and senate were unable to find common ground on their state's congressional redistricting, the plan was decided by a panel of three federal judges. The resulting new districts included two majority-black districts (the 3rd and 17th) and one black-influenced district (the 23rd). The 3rd district has a black voting-age population of 51 percent, and represents a 14-county area that includes parts of Jacksonville, Gainesville, and Orlando. The 17th, located in Miami, has a 54 percent black majority, while the 23rd, which includes parts of Fort Lauderdale and West Palm Beach, is 44 percent black.

In the September 1 Democratic primary, black state representative **CORRINE BROWN** of Jacksonville failed to win a majority but was the top vote getter in the race for the 3rd district. Receiving 43 percent of the vote, Brown led three other candidates, including black Jacksonville state senator **ARNETT GIRADREAU** and white former Jacksonville state representative **ANDREW JOHNSON**. Johnson came in second with 31 percent and will face Brown in an October 1 runoff. In the 17th district, black Democratic state senator **CARRIE MEEK** from Miami walked away with the nomination, capturing 82 percent of the vote. She soundly defeated Miami attorney and law professor **DONALD JONES** and freshman state representative **DARRYL REAVES**, both black. Since her election to the state house in 1979 and subsequently to the state senate in 1982, Meek has acquired a reputation as an advocate for women, minorities, the poor, and the aged. She is a member of the appropriations, commerce, health and rehabilitative services committees. With no Republican opposition in the November 3 general election, Meek is guaranteed a seat in Congress.

ALCEE HASTINGS of Ft. Lauderdale, a former federal judge for the southern district of Florida, will meet white attorney and three-term state representative **LOIS J. FRANKEL** of West Palm Beach in the October 1 runoff for the 23rd district seat. Frankel garnered 35 percent of the primary vote to Hastings' 28. The primary also-rans included black state representative **BILL CLARK** of Lauderdale Lakes who came in third followed by black Riviera Beach accountant **WILLIAM WASHINGTON**. Hastings was the first black federal judge in Florida, having been appointed by president **JIMMY CARTER** in 1979. Prior to the appointment, he had served as a circuit court judge in Broward County.

In 1989, Hastings was impeached and removed from the bench by Congress for conspiracy to accept a bribe, despite having already been acquitted of the charge in 1983 by a federal jury. Hastings protested that the congressional action violated his 5th Amendment rights protecting him from double jeopardy. On September 17 of this year, a federal judge reversed the 1989 conviction, ruling that Hastings had been improperly tried because the evidence in the case had been heard by a 12-member Senate panel and not the full Senate. The Senate plans to appeal the judge's decision. In recent years, Hastings has made several unsuccessful bids for elective office including his 1990 attempt to win the Democratic nomination for Florida secretary of state.

SOUTH CAROLINA

JAMES CLYBURN, South Carolina's black commissioner of human affairs, won the Democratic nomination for the 6th congressional district in an August 25 primary. The newly created district has a black voting-age population of 58 percent, and combines cities and rural areas, including portions of Florence, Columbia, Charleston, and Orangeburg. Clyburn, 52, received 56 percent of the vote in a six-way contest that included state senators **FRANK GILBERT** and **HERBERT FIELDING**, attorney **JOHN RAY HARPER**, and South Carolina State University professor **KENNETH MOSELY**. All are black. Republican candidates **DELORES PORCHER DaCOSTA**, a black legislative assistant for the state's white Republican congressman **ARTHUR RAVENEL**, and **TONY GRAHAM**, a black physician from Lake City, were both defeated by white Florence businessman and city council member **JOHN CHASE III**.

Though Clyburn was an early favorite to win the Democratic seat, local observers saw the anticipated reelection bid of white five-term Democratic congressman **ROBIN TALLON** as a serious obstacle to Clyburn and the other black candidates. Tallon had won his last primary and general election by broad margins, and the 6th district includes part of Tallon's old district where he had built up strong support among black constituents. At the eleventh hour, however, Tallon decided not to seek reelection.

LOUISIANA

By creating the 4th congressional district, the Louisiana legislature increased the Bayou state's majority-black districts to two. The sprawling 4th district includes Shreveport, Monroe, Baton Rouge, and Alexandria and has a black voting-age population of 63 percent. (The state's other majority-black congressional district, the 2nd, is in New Orleans and is represented by freshman congressman **WILLIAM JEFFERSON**.) Nine contenders are vying for the 4th district in the state's October 3 open primary. Among the cast of candidates are several seasoned black politicians: Shreveport council member **JOE SHYNE**, state senators **CLEO FIELDS** of Baton Rouge and **CHARLES D. JONES** of Monroe, and attorney **FAYE WILLIAMS**, a congressional staffer who ran for Congress twice before in the former 8th district. Also in the running are black attorneys **JAMES ROSS** of Monroe and **RALPH HALL** of Baton Rouge. Two white candidates in the race are **STEVE MYERS**, a Baton Rouge newspaper publisher, and physician **EMILE K. VENTRA** of Opelousas.

State senators Fields and Jones are seen as the leading contenders. Fields is a two-term senator who chaired the government affairs committee, which had jurisdiction over redistricting. This is Fields' second bid for Congress; in 1990 he challenged white Republican congressman **CLYDE HOLLOWAY** in the former 8th district. Jones, a former state assistant district attorney, was elected to the senate in 1991 after serving 12 years in the house. During last year's gubernatorial campaign, Jones and Fields were both instrumental in organizing black get-out-the-vote drives. That effort was a major contributing factor in Democratic governor **EDWIN EDWARDS**' victory over Republican **DAVID DUKE**, the former Ku Klux Klan leader. For Faye Williams, counsel to the U.S. House Committee on the District of Columbia, this will be the third try for a congressional seat—she launched unsuccessful bids against Holloway in 1986 and 1988. She backed Fields against Holloway in 1990.

Search for a Consensus Mayor in Jackson, Mississippi

On August 29, the Coalition for a Progressive Jackson held a caucus to select a single black mayoral candidate that the black community could unite behind in next year's election. The city of nearly 200,000 is 56 percent black but has never yet elected a black mayor. The coalition took its cue from the successful 1991 effort in Memphis to select **WILLIE HERENTON** to run as that city's first black mayor. About 400 people met at Jackson's historic Lynch Street Masonic Temple, the site of numerous civil rights rallies in the 1960s, and selected as their favored mayoral candidate 77-year-old **HENRY KIRKSEY**, a longtime civil rights activist and former state senator. The assembled coalition chose Kirksey from among a group of candidates that also included city council member **LOUIS ARMSTRONG** and state representative **CREDELL CALHOUN**. Kirksey won with 68 percent of the coalition's vote. (The primary will be held on May 4, 1993, and the general election is slated for June 6.)

Coalition chair **ALI SHAMSID-DEEN**, a political organizer and graduate student at Jackson State University, says the organization was formed last November following the firing of the city's first black police chief, **DAVID**

WALKER, by white first-term mayor **KANE DITTO**. The mayor said that he and Walker had conflicting management styles. Walker, who was popular among Jackson's black citizens, was given 45 minutes to vacate his office. The mayor disregarded the black community's requests to retain him. The coalition began discussing a black mayoral bid in January and held a series of meetings to develop a strategy and platform and to allow interested candidates to campaign. The meetings were open to all black residents of Jackson.

A faculty member at Tougaloo College, Kirksey is a political activist who has demanded racial equity in the redistricting of congressional, state legislative, judicial, municipal, and county jurisdictions. Successful lawsuits (*Kirksey* v. *Hinds County* in 1971 and *Kirksey* v. *City of Jackson* in 1977) led to the expansion of the number of black elected officials in the Jackson area and the state legislature. Kirksey ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1975 and was likewise frustrated in his campaigns for the U.S. Senate in 1978 and to become mayor of Jackson in 1981. He served two terms in the state senate, from 1980 to 1988. If elected, Kirksey says that he would promote economic development to build up the black business community and enhance the physical facilities of predominantly black Jackson State University in an effort to shore up enrollment. He also hopes to promulgate policies and programs that would stem the flight of whites and middle-class blacks to the suburbs, a problem that has depleted the city's tax base.

CHARLES HOLMES, a political analyst teaching at Jackson State University, believes the coalition's efforts are laudable but adds that so far they have not generated unified support in the black community. Attendance at the coalition's August 29 caucus was poor, and another faction, the Minority Leadership Conference, which includes white members, has organized a counter-effort. It is still early in the game; local political observers note that a candidacy by Calhoun cannot be ruled out. If the various factions divide the black vote, next year's election may be won by Ditto or the city's former three-term white mayor, **DALE DANKS**, who has hinted at entering the race.

Moving Up in Congress

In the mid-1980s, black California congressman **RON DELLUMS**, who then ranked eighth among the Democrats on the House Armed Services Committee, vowed to outlive all his colleagues on the panel. His message was that through longevity and seniority he expected eventually to chair the committee. So far, the legislator's words seem to have been prophetic. By the beginning of this Congress, Dellums's ranking had jumped to fourth, and with the retirement of the committee's number-two person, **CHARLES BENNETT** (D-Fla.), Dellums, 57, moves up to third. Dellums was originally elected in 1970 as an anti-war candidate and has since advocated reducing Pentagon spending. He was an ardent opponent of the military build-up during the Reagan administration.

With this year's massive turnover of senior incumbents in the House, several other members of the Congressional Black Caucus will advance on key committees. As of September 15, a total of 86 House members had retired, run for another office, or been defeated. The impact of this exodus has already been felt on other committees. Black congressman **LOUIS STOKES** (D-Ohio) moves from the rank of seventh to sixth on the powerful Appropriations Committee. More importantly, the retirement of **BOB TRAXLER** (D-Mich.) places Stokes in line to chair the subcommittee with jurisdiction over funding for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Veterans' Administration, and independent agencies such as NASA, the National Science Foundation, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

The subcommittee handles spending for programs such as low-income rental assistance, FHA loans, and Community Development Block Grants. The appropriations bill for the agencies covered by the subcommittee for FY93 totals $86.6 billion. If Stokes is selected by the House Democratic Caucus to chair the panel at the beginning of the next Congress, he will become one of the 13 Appropriations subcommittee chairmen, nicknamed by colleagues as the "College of Cardinals" because of their power over congressional spending.

Another Caucus beneficiary of the congressional departures is three-term Representative **MIKE ESPY** from Mississippi. Provided he doesn't win assignment to another committee—such as Appropriations—Espy could chair the Agriculture Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition, which has legislative authority over food stamps. This may not be the end of the story. By the time the remaining primaries are concluded and the general election is over, the toll of incumbents leaving Congress will no doubt be higher, providing yet more opportunities for black members to expand their authority.

ACROSS THE NATION

CALIFORNIA: Citing the anti-incumbent mood of the electorate and the riots in South Central Los Angeles, the city's 74-year-old mayor, **TOM BRADLEY**, announced he would not run for a sixth term. A former police lieutenant and city council member, Bradley entered City Hall by defeating then mayor **SAM YORTY** in a 1973 campaign marked by racial overtones. Under Bradley's leadership, Los Angeles supplanted San Francisco as California's center of finance and transportation. Modern office buildings rose above the city's previously low-rise skyline, and in 1984 the city hosted the summer Olympics.

Bradley almost became the nation's first black elected governor in 1982, when he barely lost to Republican state attorney **GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN** by only 93,000 votes out of 7.8 million cast. Four years later, in another gubernatorial bid, Bradley lost to Deukmejian by a wider vote margin of 37 to 61 percent.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: In the September 15 Democratic primary, former mayor **MARION BARRY**, 56, soundly defeated four-term incumbent **WILHELMINA ROLARK**, 75, in a race for a seat on the city council. Barry's 70 percent of the vote—compared to Rolark's 21 percent—amounted to a stunning upset. Marking a political comeback after six months in prison for a cocaine conviction, Barry defied Mayor **SHARON PRATT KELLY** and much of the District's current political establishment, who endorsed Rolark, with his populist appeal to the residents of Ward 8, the poorest ward in the city.

Rolark, 75, began to prepare for a fight when she realized Barry had moved out of his four-bedroom home in another ward and taken an apartment in Ward 8 after his release from prison earlier this year. Barry campaigned on the theme of bringing respect and attention to the 8th ward, which suffers from high rates of crime and unemployment. With his preacher-like speaking style and African garb, Barry the candidate was reminiscent of Barry the activist who headed the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee during the civil rights movement and was director of Pride Incorporated, a Washington-based community development organization. (Barry's elected offices, aside from mayor, included stints on the school board and city council.) This year Barry boosted his efforts by helping to register a thousand new voters.

Kelly opposed Barry's candidacy, fearing that he would become a disruptive element on the city council. She also warned that his return to the council would revive the negative image the city received when the allegations of Barry's substance abuse became public. Kelly fears that a poor image could damage the improving relations between the District and Congress, which has veto power over city council actions.

GEORGIA: Victory in the August 11 Democratic primary runoff for Fulton County sheriff virtually assured **JACKIE BARRETT**, 41, of becoming the first black woman to hold such a position in a major metropolitan jurisdiction. The seasoned law enforcement administrator defeated black interim Fulton County sheriff **ROBERT McMICHAEL**. The final tally was 56 percent to 44 percent. (Fulton county encompasses the city of Atlanta.) Barrett is highly favored to defeat white Republican candidate **MORRIS CHAPPELL** of Roswell in November. Barrett is currently director of the Fulton County Public Safety Training Center in Atlanta. Prior to assuming this position in 1987, she served as chief administrative officer for the county sheriff's department and for 10 years with the Georgia Peace Officer Standards and Training Council, the state oversight board for licensing and training police officers.

Like Barrett, state representative **NADINE THOMAS**'s July 21 primary win assures her a place in history. Running unopposed in the November general election, Thomas should become the first black woman elected to the state senate. Thomas was first elected to the house in 1990 after three unsuccessful tries. The 40-year-old registered nurse will represent the newly created 10th district which includes parts of Atlanta and Decatur County.

MASSACHUSETTS: Republican governor **WILLIAM WELD** appointed black Republican **RALPH C. MARTIN, JR.**, as district attorney for Suffolk County, which includes Boston. Martin, 39, worked under Weld as an assistant U.S. attorney in Boston in the mid-1980s. Martin's appointment is viewed in some circles as an effort to improve race relations in the Boston area, where blacks have long been excluded from the administration of law enforcement. He replaces **NEWMAN FLANAGAN**, who held the post for 13 years before resigning. Martin will have to run for election in 1994 when Flanagan's term expires.

MICHAEL M. MURPHY, a member of the Governor's Council for the second district in Boston, says Martin's appointment is important because relations between the police and Boston's black community are strained. He says Martin "will have the opportunity to set the pace in Boston."

WISCONSIN: Black Democratic county supervisor **TERRANCE L. PITTS** came in a distant second in a six-candidate race in the September 8 primary for the 5th congressional district, which includes much of Milwaukee. The victor was white state senator **THOMAS M. BARRETT**, who received twice as many votes as Pitts.

Making Health Care Work for Blacks

The U.S. Health Care System Reaches Few of the Working Poor and Fails to Address Many of the Needs of the Youngest Black Americans

by Allison J. King

On June 12, the Joint Center held a one-day conference entitled "Meeting the Health Needs of the African American Community: Public Policy and Community Initiative," which addressed the crisis confronting African Americans and the failure of the nation's health care system to adequately respond to it. The conference featured a mini-town hall meeting moderated by ABC News health correspondent George Strait, a luncheon with guest speaker Arthur Ashe, and workshops on major health issues. This article is based on the presentations made at the conference.

What does a 35-year-old mother of three with a low-wage job and no health insurance do when one of her children gets sick? How will she pay for physical therapy for a child recovering from an auto accident or prenatal care for a pregnant daughter? These are issues for thousands of African Americans, and the answers do not seem to lie in the current health care system. The health of African Americans is precarious today, with blacks at greater risk of illness and death than whites, in part because they have less access to quality care than whites.

Joint Center senior research associate and health conference coordinator Dr. Wilhelmina A. Leigh offers this capsule summary of black Americans' general health status: Diabetes is 33 percent more common among blacks than whites; and blacks have the highest overall cancer rate of any population group in the U.S. In addition, more than one-fifth of all black Americans have no health insurance; as a result, blacks comprise a larger share of the uninsured population (17.5 percent) than they do of the total population (12.4 percent).

Among the several factors responsible for this severe health crisis are flawed government health policies, the high cost of health care, inadequate health education, and high-risk lifestyles. Unhealthy lifestyles may be the most difficult factor to change. As Arthur Ashe said at the conference, "If we are going to accomplish what we set out to do [educating the black community on health issues], we are talking about a wholesale change in the mind-set and the cultural norms of African Americans."

A System That Ignores Inner-City Needs

A panel of health experts at the conference discussed the various layers of the current health care system as well as the Bush administration's understanding of the health needs of African Americans. Even though over $800 billion is spent annually on health care in the U.S., nearly every panelist agrees that some type of health care reform is needed; the question is what kind.

"I don't think that [the health care system] requires more money," says Kevin Moley, deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. "I think it requires us to spend the money we're currently spending far more wisely than we are." Moley believes an infrastructure for the health care system already exists—with hospitals, doctors, and treatment centers already in place in cities and small communities—it just comes down to making it work for all Americans.

At the conference ABC News health correspondent George Strait presented the hypothetical scenario of an 18-year-old African American male who has been shot, has no health insurance, and is diagnosed during his hospital stay as HIV positive. This fictionalized situation symbolizes some of the most serious problems that urban health care facilities must face. Treatment of gunshot victims and indigent AIDS patients are among the nation's most expensive public medical costs, and the number of such patients is growing.

According to Rashidah Hassan, executive director of BEBASHI (Blacks Educating Blacks About Sexual Health Issues), a Philadelphia-based volunteer organization, community organizations and public hospitals that treat the poor are under-staffed and under-funded. BEBASHI provides home health care, meal deliveries, and transportation to and from medical care for newly released patients. "We are used as an agency to support what the public health department is, in fact, responsible for. Because of shrinking government expenditures, agencies like mine are contracted to provide support services," she says.

Behind the charge of shrinking government expenditures are those who argue that the Bush administration is turning a deaf ear to African American concerns. As Julius Chambers, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, sees it, "[The government] still restricts access to health care, and the reforms that I've seen bandied about by this administration simply will not address the major problems that African Americans bring to the health care system." Part of the difficulty is that most insurance policies are employment-based. Blacks who are working part-time or even full-time

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Health

(Continued from page 5)

for employers who offer no health benefits have to pay for medical expenses out of their own pockets.

A Competition Children Lose

In order to successfully mature, children need education on good nutrition and behavior, social training, and medical care including preventive screening and vaccinations. Yet, says Dr. Roselyn Epps, professor of pediatrics and child health at Howard University School of Medicine, "There is a health crisis in this country and it affects children more than any other single group of the population, whether the indices are infant mortality, low immunization rates, [or] child abuse and neglect. These disproportionately affect children of African-American descent."

According to the Children's Defense Fund, fewer than 60 percent of all children under the age of two in major metropolitan areas have had full immunizations. "We can prevent illnesses, and immunizations are an excellent way of preventing illnesses," says Dr. Robert Johnson, chairman of the Task Force on Minority Children's Access to Pediatric Health Care at the American Academy of Pediatrics in Newark, N.J. But in a competition for government dollars for immunization and other preventive measures, Dr. Johnson says, children will always lose because they are a non-voting bloc.

The Elderly Who Can't Retire

Growing old gracefully in today's world can be difficult. For many elderly black Americans, unstable family structures and dwindling financial resources represent the crumbling "golden years" they must look forward to. The increase in black women working outside the home has brought a decrease in the number of women caring for elderly parents. Grandparents who live at their adult children's homes often find themselves caring for their grandchildren, some of whom are drug-exposed babies.

The continued burden of raising grandchildren imposes both physical and financial strain on elderly blacks and also contributes to the fact that many black Americans never retire. Either they never earned enough to have a pension that could support them if they retired, or they have additional financial responsibilities in their later years that necessitate continued work despite failing health.

Today's black elderly, at 55 years and older, probably are better off than any other group of black elderly in this century, in terms of both physical and financial status. Many have had good jobs and can count on benefits in their later years. However, between the years 2000 and 2020, the baby boom cohorts will turn 55 years old and greatly increase the proportion of all elderly, especially black elderly, in our population. This larger group of elderly citizens may lack the buffers of pensions and health insurance that their predecessors had and therefore impose additional strain on the nation's health care system.

Drugs, AIDS, and Needles

The facts on AIDS in the African American community are startling. According to Dr. Mitchell Rice, a professor of public administration and political science at Louisiana State University: the death rate from AIDS is three times higher among blacks than among whites. And while blacks are only 12 percent of the U.S. population, between 1981 and 1988 they comprised 27 percent of all AIDS cases, 24 percent of adult male AIDS cases, 54 percent of adult female AIDS cases, and 55 percent of pediatric AIDS cases.

Unfortunately, the prevalence of drugs in the black community is inextricably linked to the AIDS epidemic. Rice points out that 36 percent of black males with AIDS contract the disease through the sharing of drug needles.

For that reason, many state and local health departments are wrangling with the idea of needle exchange programs whereby officials dispense clean needles to drug users in exchange for their dirty needles. This ~~could limit the~~ spread of HIV and other communicable diseases among that population. Lorna McBarnette, former executive deputy commissioner of health for the state of New York, endorses a needle exchange program. But in New Jersey, the jury is still out on needle exchange because state officials do not feel there is sufficient evidence that exchanging needles will help.

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The conference participants agree that one way to reverse the various negative trends is for black Americans to change their lifestyles by altering their habits in eating, substance abuse (drinking, smoking, and drug use), and prevention (e.g., fastening seat belts and getting prenatal, dental, and eye examinations). Rising health care costs have spurred policy makers to shift their focus toward prevention. If blacks, and all Americans, can receive vital health care before illness or accident, hospitals and treatment centers might be less crowded and better able to handle their current caseloads. ■

Joint Center Health Program to Air

"Prescriptions for Change-African American Health Forum" will be aired by WETA in the Washington metropolitan area on Monday, October 26th at 10 p.m. The hour-long program was filmed by WETA at the Joint Center's June conference on the health problems of African Americans. Issues covered include limited access to health care, inadequate insurance, and the decreasing life spans of black Americans. ABC health correspondent George Strait moderates a discussion among Congressman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), Kevin Moley, deputy secretary at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and Frances Dunston, commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Public Health.

The Plight of Black Male Job-Seekers

The Shrinkage of Manufacturing Employment in Chicago Has Affected Blacks and Mexican Immigrants Very Differently

This article was adapted from a recent presentation by William Julius Wilson, the Lucy Flower University Professor of sociology and public policy at the University of Chicago, before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means. It is based on the findings of the Chicago Urban Poverty and Family Life Study, a research project directed by Dr. Wilson. A detailed account of these findings will be published by Alfred A. Knopf Inc. in 1993.

In recent years, inner-city black males as a group have increasingly been maligned in films, television, and in the news media. The negative and worsening image of these men exacerbates racial hostility because it lends itself to overgeneralization about the entire black community. This image combined with the loss of traditional manufacturing and other blue-collar jobs in Chicago are partly responsible increasing unemployment among inner-city black males and have contributed to their concentration in low-wage, high- turnover laborer and service jobs. Moreover, inner-city blacks tend to be parts of neighborhoods, networks, and households that are less conducive to employment. Hispanics have easier access to manufacturing jobs because many employers not only prefer them over blacks, but they also like to hire by referrals from current employees, which Hispanics can easily furnish, since they are well connected in immigrant networks.

Inner-city black men frequently express bitterness and resentment about their poor employment prospects and low wage work settings. Their attitudes and their erratic work histories in high-turnover jobs create the widely shared perception that black men are undesirable workers. That perception becomes the basis for employer discrimination that sharply increases in a weak economy. Over the long term, discrimination has also grown because employers have been turning increasingly to an expanding immigrant and female labor force.

This has not always been so. Previously, when black males sought jobs, employers mainly examined their strength and stamina. Industries that involved strenuous work readily employed black men. Data from the Chicago Urban Poverty and Family Life Study show that 51 percent of Chicago's employed inner-city black males born between 1941 and 1955 worked in manufacturing industries in 1969. By 1987 that figure had plummeted to 29 percent. Of those born between 1956 and 1968, 45 percent worked in manufacturing industries as late as 1978. By 1987 that figure had declined to 25 percent.

The loss of traditional manufacturing and other blue-collar jobs in Chicago has caused young black males to turn to the low-wage service and laboring jobs for employment, or to go jobless. The decline of manufacturing has not affected Hispanics the same way, especially recent Mexican immigrants. They have had greater success holding on to the declining number of manufacturing jobs or finding other employment when their industries shut down. For example, while Mexican men possess considerably less formal education than black men, Mexicans have lost manufacturing jobs at a slower rate, and when they are displaced, they have found other employment more quickly. Although Mexicans and blacks compete in the same labor market, their respective social environments (neighborhoods, households, and social networks) differ in ways that distinctly affect employment and labor force participation.

Poor black neighborhoods lack the access to resources normally provided by stable working residents and informal job networks. In the black Chicago neighborhoods studied, social contacts were far more successful in helping residents gain informal work to help make ends meet than in obtaining steady employment; although networks existed, they generally lacked the capacity to elevate residents into the formal labor market. For example, black men and women in the study were less likely than members of other ethnic groups to report that they received help from a friend in obtaining their current job. Blacks also reported using public transit more often than Mexicans who rely more heavily on carpooling, an important network.

Perception Shapes Reality

The deterioration of the socioeconomic status of black men can be associated with increases in negative perceptions. Interviews of a representative sample of Chicago-area employers show that many consider inner-city blacks—especially young black males—to be uneducated, unstable, uncooperative, and dishonest. For example, a suburban drug store manager said:

> It's unfortunate, but in my business I think, overall, [black men] tend to be known to be dishonest. I think that's too bad but that's the image they have. *(Interviewer: So you think it's an image problem?)* Yeah, an image problem of being dishonest men and lazy. They're known to be lazy. *(Interviewer: I see. How do you think that image was developed?)* Go look in the jails.

Adding to the image problem is the hostility young black men hold toward their low paying jobs compared to

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Black Males

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immigrant Mexican men. Many young black men demonstrated less willingness to be flexible in taking assignments or tasks not considered part of their job, and less willingness to work as hard for the same low wages.

These attitudes contrast with those of many Mexicans and other Third-World immigrants who are perceived to exhibit better "work ethics" than native workers because they are willing to tolerate harsh conditions, lower pay, and few opportunities to advance. Many immigrants are harder workers because they have migrated from areas of intense poverty, and even boring and gruelling jobs look, by contrast, good to them. They also fear being deported if they fail to find employment.

Black men interviewed in the study strongly felt that they are victims of discrimination and complained that they get assigned the heaviest work or dirtiest jobs, were overworked, and paid less than nonblacks. Immigrant Mexicans also reported feeling exploited but tended to feel that this was to be expected because of the nature of the job. Richard Taub, a researcher on the project concluded that the inner-city black men had a greater sense of "honor" and often viewed the work, pay, and treatment from bosses as insulting and degrading. This heightened sensitivity to exploitation, Taub believes, increases anger and leads to a tendency, in some work settings, to just walk off the job.

The attitudes that many black males express about their jobs and job prospects reflect their plummeting position in a changing labor market. Turnover rates of 50 to 100 percent are common in low-skilled service jobs in Chicago. One employer in the survey, who reported turnover rates in his firm above 50 percent, acknowledged a decision to tolerate a high turnover rather than increase the starting salary and improve working conditions to attract higher caliber workers. He stated that, "Our practice has been that we'll keep hiring and, hopefully, one or two of them are going to wind up being good."

This employer, and others in similar situations, can afford such high turnover rates because the work they offer is simple and requires very little, if any training. On average, jobs paying less than five or six dollars an hour had high quit rates. In higher paying jobs, by contrast, the turnover rates fell to less than 20 percent per year. Yet, the data show that the number of black males in the higher paying positions has sharply declined.

The more black males complain about low-paying jobs, poor working conditions, and restricted opportunities for upward mobility, the less desirable they seem to employers. They therefore experience greater discrimi-nation when they seek employment and clash more often with supervisors when they find work. For all these reasons, it is important to link attitudinal and other cultural traits with structural realities of the economy and job market.

The employment struggles of black men in Chicago are clearly caused by several intermingled and mutually reinforcing factors. The shifting economy, race, and differing cultural orientations and attitudes all fuel the worsening employment opportunities for blacks. Effective public policy designed to address the employment problems of blacks must take these interrelated influences into account. ■

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